# National Anti-Slavery Standard.

VOL. XXIX. NO. 46. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 20, 1869. WHOLE NO. 1,502.

**National Anti-Slavery Standard.**

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY,

BY THE

**AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,**

At its Office, No. 30 Nassau Street, New York.

THREE DOLLARS PER ANNUM.

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## *THE BARBARISM OF LOUISIANA.*

THE following letter, from a perfectly trustworthy correspondent, appeared in the Salem (Ohio) *Journal* of the 5th inst. No wonder the prospective return of Gen. Sheridan is unwelcome to the Louisana rebels. Under Johnson, Rosseau, Buchanan & Co., murder had become for them an easy amusement:

BATON ROUGE, LA., Jan. 15th, 1869.—EDITORS JOURNAL:—In looking over the columns of the last *Journal* received by me, I saw a detailed account of the escape of Emerson Bentley from the clutches of the cut-throats who infest Louisiana and Texas. At the time when the Opelousas massacre took place, I was in New Iberia, about fifty miles from Opelousas. I heard that Bentley had escaped; and, until I learned the particulars of the escape, through your columns, I must say it was a matter of wondering conjecture with me, as to how he *did* get away with safety from those blood-thirsty villains. Their confidence in their ability to capture him evidently overcame their usual foresight and craft, or he would have had quadrupedal, as well as bipedal blood-hounds, to deal with. Bentley's narration of his experience, as published by you, gives but a faint idea of the terrible state of affairs which existed, not only in Opelousas, but in all that part of the State of Louisiana, where troops were not stationed. Within a short time there must have been at least *two hundred and fifty or three hundred men murdered in cold blood* for daring to adhere to the Republican party. At the time that Bentley's printing office was destroyed, there were a number of men arrested and placed in jail, by the mob which ruled the town with arms, that day; among this number I was informed by reliable authority, was one of the editors or proprietors of the *Progress* (Bentley's paper). Thirteen (including Bentley's associates) and a number of negroes, were taken out of the jail, by a mob, at night; the editor was pasted over with copies of his paper; and then the whole were shot, laid in a trench and partly covered with earth.* For several days after, a reign of terror held sway over that part of the country. Negroes were shot while at work in the fields. At night, they were called to their doors, and either induced to go out upon some pretext and then shot down, or were shot while standing in their door-ways. Even white *boys* vied with the older *men*, I was going to say—fiends in human shape, in those wholesale slaughter of the "d——d *radicals.*" Around St. Martinsville, and Breaux Bridge, the same fearful tragedy was enacted.

At the beginning of the riot, application was made at New Iberia (fifty miles distant) for troops: but there was no way of sending the troops—besides, the garrison was not large enough to allow sending a detachment large enough to effect anything. The commanding officer, Lieut. S. Weaver, 20th U. S. Inf., telegraphed at once for a company of cavalry, which, however, was not sent to Lt. W. Had this company of cavalry been sent at once from New Orleans, upon receipt of the telegram, there is no doubt that a number of lives would have been saved.†

When it became known that there had been such a fearful riot two officers went at different times to investigate the matter; but the people were so determined that the facts should not be known, that the officers had to leave their work unfinished. No one dared let them know anything concerning the riot, for fear their lives would be sacrificed; one negro, who did give some information was missing the next morning—and the officers, fearing their lives would be sacrificed, too, concluded to leave the matter to develop itself. Enough came to light to show that the massacre was fearful, and cold-blooded; and that, although the whole will probably never be known, there were at least two hundred and fifty or three hundred killed.

Although there were so many men killed, there were only two or three Democrats who were shot, and they were wounded after the affray commenced.

The galvanized rebels, who committed these outrages, and who call themselves (and without doubt are) *good Democrats*, boasted, after the massacre, that "they had the d—d radical niggers just where they wanted them—*they* (the rioters) would see that the niggers should be glad to work on *any* terms, and to '*vote right*' *too.*" They also boasted that "you had only to look at a nigger and off his hat would go." One of the officers above referred to was asked to step into a certain house: "What shall I do with my horse," said he. "I'll see to your horse—here, you boy, come here and hold this horse"—this to a negro man not far off. The man ran to obey. When the officer offered to pay the man, "chivalry" said never you mind that, niggers expect pay for too many things, now; they've got to turn over a new leaf, now." Not satisfied with killing so many men, and forcing them, virtually, back to a condition of servitude worse, if possible, than slavery was, those "good *Democrats*" perpetrated another outrage, which I must ventilate. When the voters were being registered, the white Democrats, armed to the teeth, forced the negroes to deliver to them their certificates, one white man holding the certificates of a number of negroes whom he afterwards marched to the polls, where they compelled the negroes to "*vote right*" as they said they would —*i. e.* to vote the Democratic ticket. This was the programme at Opelousas.

In other parts of the State, at New Iberia, Breaux Bridge, St. Martinsville, Franklin and other places, the "radical niggers" were kept crowded back, and thus swindled out of their certificates, while the "colored Democrats" were treated to a glass of "rot-gut," taken by the arm and ushered into the registering office, where they got their certificates. No less than five hundred, in one parish, were thus kept from voting the Republican ticket.‡ Some of the Republican negroes, however, were sharp enough to "play off" Democrates and get their certificates, taking care, however, to vote the Republican ticket, at the election. As ever, Fraternally yours,

TENIENDO.

*So shallow was this trench made, that persons going near, afterward, found a large number of buzzards feeding upon the projecting hands, feet and heads of the murdered men.

†The military officers in Louisiana were, in effect, bound hand and foot, by Gen. Buchanan, commanding the District of Louisiana, and Gen. Rousseau commanding the Department. Their orders were to interfere in no way with matters not purely military, unless called upon to suppress riot, and *not then unless called upon by the Sheriff of the Parish where the riot may be.* The Sheriffs (with *but one exception* that I know of, and *he was murdered in cold blood by the K. K. K.*,) were all galvanized rebels, who could stretch their consciences (if they had any, at all) enough to take the required oath of office. It does not take a very astute mind to see that *they* would not "call on the military to suppress riot," as long as the "d—d niggers were getting wiped out." The only time the military, in that part of Louisiana, was ordered to act, during the last year, was when the mayor and other whites of St. Martinsville represented that "the niggers were going to burn the town and slaughter the inhabitants;" and then the commanding officer at New Iberia was authorized to charter a steamboat in order to expedite the movement of troops to the threatened point. However, the negroes never had any idea of making an attack on St. Martinsville; the whole affair grew out of an attempt on the part of the whites of St. Martinsville to intimidate and disperse, with arms, a Republican meeting and procession, in which were a large number of negroes.

‡The Registrars worked, hand-in-glove, with the ex-rebel Democrats in this shameful swindling.

## *SUFFRAGE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.*

REMARKS OF HON. HENRY WILSON, OF MASSACHUSETTS.

*In the Senate of the United States, February 8th,* 1868.

MR. WILSON said:

Mr. President: It will be fourteen years to-morrow since I stood at the Vice President's desk, took the oath, and entered upon the duties of a Senator of the United States. These fourteen years have been crowded and eventful years. Ideas, principles and policies have grappled and contended for the mastery. The Senate has been divided into two distinctly defined classes of public men. The one class has been the persistent friends of a liberal, progressive, and Christian civilization; the other class has been the sturdy champions of a brutal, degrading, and perishing barbarism. By speeches and votes, by acts and declared opinions these two classes of statesmen have made enduring records, by which the present age and the coming ages will interpret their motives, weigh their judgments, and pronounce irreversible verdicts upon their public characters.

You and I, Mr. President, have witnessed this struggle. We have listened to the words of Senators who during these crowded years have contended in this Chamber for the triumph of their ideas, principles, and policies. You and I, sir, have seen the friends of the country and of the rights of man give votes and heard them utter words that have been applauded by earth and blest of Heaven. Misapprehended, misrepresented, and maligned, we have seen them move right on from conflict to conflict, from victory to victory, till they have won triumph for the country, for popular liberty, for human elevation and development, the memory of which their children and their children's children will proudly cherish. In the ages yet to be the record of their achievements, traced upon the historic page, will be read by the champions of popular liberty with beaming eye and bounding pulse. The misconceptions, born of interests, passions, and prejudices will perish in the lights of the future; and these men, who have been faithful to country and true to liberty, will take their places in men's memories beside the faithful and true of other ages and other lands. While history shall record, in letters of light, for the study and admiration of aftertimes the words and deeds of patriotism, liberty, and humanity of the men who have never wavered in their fidelity in the stern trials through which their country has passed and is passing, it will be fortunate for their opponents and assailants, in this Chamber and out of it, if their posterity—those who bear their names and inherit their blood—shall be as silent as are the descendants of the men who opposed the Declaration of Independence and reviled the heroes of our revolutionary age. If the wild utterances and guilty deeds of the champions of slavery and whatever pertains to it shall live in the records of these times, if their words and acts shall be remembered at all, their children and their children's children may seek to hide the shame of such an ancestry. Men who, in the lights of this age in America that flash upon us from battle-fields and patriot's graves, continue to champion the lost causes of slavery, caste, and human inequality are certain, while living or when dead, to meet the doom of men who in other ages and in other ages and in other lands have disowned, scoffed, and reviled the sublime creed of human equality and brotherhood.

Sir, it is now past six o'clock in the morning—a continuous session of more than eighteen hours. For more than seventeen hours the ear of the Senate has been wearied and pained with anti-republican, inhuman, and unchristian utterances, with the oft-repeated warnings, prophecies, and predictions, with petty technicalities, and carping criticisms. The majority in this Chamber, in the House, and in the country, too, have been arraigned, assailed, and denounced, their ideas, principles, and policies misrepresented, and their motives questioned. Sir, will our assailants never forget anything nor learn anything? Will they never see themselves as others see them? Year after year they have continuously and vehemently, as grand historic questions touching the interests of the country and the rights of our countrymen have arisen to be grappled with and solved, blurted into our unwilling ears these same warnings, prophecies, and predictions, their unreasoning prejudices and passionate declamations. Time and events, which test all things, have brought discomfiture to their cause and made their illogical and ambitious rhetoric seem to be but weak and impotent drivel.

In spite of the discomfitures of the past, the champions of slavery and of the ideas, principles, and policies pertaining to it are again doing battle for their perishing cause. Again, sir, we are arraigned, again misrepresented, again denounced. Why are we again thus misrepresented, arraigned, and denounced? We, the friends of human rights, simply propose to submit to our countrymen an amendment of the Constitution of our country to secure the priceless boon of suffrage to citizens of the United States to whom the right to vote and be voted for is denied by the constitutions and laws of some of the States. This effort to remove the disabilities of the emancipated victims of the perished slave systems, to clothe them with power to maintain the dignity of manhood and the honor and rights of citizenship, springs from our love of freedom, our sense of justice, our reverence for human nature, and our recognition of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. This effort, sanctified by patriotism, liberty, justice, and humanity, is stigmatized in this Chamber as a mere partisan movement. Who make it a partisan movement? The men who are actuated by an imperative sense of duty, or the men who instinctively seize the occasion to arouse the unreasoning passions of race and caste and the prejudices of ignorance and hate? We are content to leave to our country, to the present age, and to future ages, the question of partisanship raised by the opponents of this beneficent measure. This is not the first time that those who denounce this amendment as partisan have stigmatized great, patriotic, and healing measures as partisan. Did they not denounce the great measures for the suppression of the rebellion as partisan measures? Did they not denounce the immortal proclamation of emancipation as a partisan proclamation? Did they not denounce the thirteenth article of the amendments of the Constitution, by which slavery was made impossible in Christian America, as a partisan amendment? Did they not denounce the fourteenth article of the amendments to the Constitution, by which the citizenship and the civil right of the emancipated race were forever assured, as a mere partisan affair? Yes, sir; every blow we have struck in defence of the Constitution and the Union, of the liberties of the people, the rights, privileges, and elevation of the poor and lowly, have been branded as partisan by passionate, vehement, and unreasoning partisanship.

Mr. Howard.—So was the Constitution itself.

Mr. Wilson.—Yes sir, the Constitution, when it came from the hands of its illustrious framers, was denounced by a narrow, contracted, mole-eyed spirit of sectionalism, local attachment and feeling, as centralization, by which the rights of the States were to be absorbed and the liberties of the people destroyed. So, in our age, the thirteenth article for emancipation, by which the fetters of slavery were riven; the fourteenth article, by which the emancipated bondmen were made citizens and clothed with civil rights, and this proposed amendment, denying to States the power to withhold suffrage on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, have been, and are denounced as at war with the fundamental law of the land, the reserved rights of the States, and the liberties of the citizen.

It is, indeed, painful to listen as we have listened during this sitting of the Senate, to the utterance of sentiments so inhuman and unchristian, sentiments so dishonoring to human nature. Sir, we have just been told by the Senator from Minnesota, (Mr. Norton), who was once with us, but never of us, that the negro, no matter what may be his wealth, his intelligence, or his personal character, is doomed to be excluded from the society of the fashionable and respectable. The hod-carrier, he tells us, may hope to amass wealth, to ride in his carriage, to be received into fashionable society; to dine others and be dined himself. He can hope, too, he tells us, that his children may be cultured and refined; but the black man is without hope for himself and his children. Fashionable society, carriages, and dinners! Surely these are mighty themes for the consideration of American statesmen. Because frivolity and fashion put their ban upon the black man, be his character ever so pure, or his intelligence ever so great, statesmen in this Christian land of Republican institutions must deny to him civil and political rights and privileges. Because social life has put and continues to put its brand of exclusion upon the black man, it is therefore the duty of statesmanship to maintain by class legislation the abhorrent doctrine of caste in this Christian Republic. This is the argument, the logic, the position of Senators. This argument, this logic, this position insults reason, outrages humanity, and dishonors the civilization of the age. Sir, it is your duty and my duty, and the duty of any Senator of the United States, to enforce and maintain the liberties, rights, and privileges of every citizen of the United States. The poorer he is the greater is our obligation; the more society averts its face from him, the more God bids us to stand by, shield and protect him. Sir, I am grateful to know that during these fourteen years you and I have given no votes and uttered no words in this Chamber to degrade or dishonor our brother man. We have given no votes here we would recall; many of the friends around us have given no votes and made no speeches they would recall. However much we may be stained or scarred by sins we hope to go to our final account without the fear of finding recorded against us the crime of having betrayed the cause of the weak, the poor, or the lowly. Whatever may be our failings, our sins of omission or commission, we hope that the oppressed and smitten children with skins not colored like our own will not, before the bar of Almighty God, arraign or reproach us.

To the Senator who tells us society is forever closed against the black man, and therefore the ballot-box should be, I say that I know black men of culture and character who are received into society that it would be an honor for him to enter. I know gentlemen and ladies of culture and refinement—gentlemen and ladies who have been received into the most cultivated circles of Europe and America, and who honor that society quite as much as they are honored by it, whose houses are open to that noble specimen of physical, intellectual, and moral power, Frederick Douglas, a gentleman who is every inch a man. I assure the Senator from Minnesota that I

"Enter on my list of friends"

Frederick Douglas, and feel honored by his friendship. The cordial reception given him by the Vice President-elect and his bride at one of their receptions, so thronged by noble men and women, was honorable alike to Mr. Colfax and the great Republican party that made him Vice-President. As I witnessed that manly greeting I felt it was but the dawn of a better era, when intellectual and moral excellence would conquer the prejudices of class and caste.

Honorable Senators have grown weary in reminding us that it would be a breach of our plighted faith to submit to the State Legislatures this amendment to the Constitution to secure to American citizens the right to vote and to be voted for. They tell us we were pledged by our national convention of 1868; that we were committed to the doctrine that the right to regulate the suffrage properly belonged to the loyal States. So the earlier Republican national conventions proclaimed that slavery in the States was a local institution, for which the people of each State only were responsible. But that declaration did not stand in the way of the proclamation of emancipation, did not stand in the way of the thirteenth article of the amendments of the Constitution, did not stand in the way of that series of aggressive measures by which slavery was extirpated in the States. Slavery struck at the life of the nation, and the Republican party throttled its mortal foe. The Republican party in the national convention of 1868 pronounced the guarantee by Congress of equal suffrage of all loyal men at the South as demanded by every consideration of public safety, gratitude, and of justice, and determined that it should be maintained. That declaration unreservedly committed the Republican party to the safety and justice of equal suffrage. The declaration that the suffrage in the loyal States properly belonged to the people of those States meant this, no more, no less; that under the Constitution it belonged to the people of each of the loyal States to regulate suffrage therein. I am told that that portion of the resolution was carried by one majority in the committee on resolutions.

That construction of the Constitution was not concurred in by great masses of the Republican party; but no one has a right to say that it committed Congress against submitting to the State Legislatures an equal suffrage amendment. Congress is certainly free to submit the amendment, and the State Legislatures are certainly free to adopt such an amendment. The Republican party by its acts and declared opinions is fully committed to the doctrine of the equality of rights and privileges of the citizens of the United States; and its consistency demands that it shall seize every opportune occasion to make the Constitution and laws of the country in harmony with its sublime creed. The march of events, the needs of the country, clear conception of public duty, all impel to action. Better far that political organizations and public men should be right with the lights of to-day than consistent with the errors of yesterday.

Senators accuse us of being actuated by partisanship, by the love of power, and the hope of retaining power; yet they never tire of reminding us that the people have in several States pronounced against equal suffrage and will do so again. I took occasion early in the debate to express the opinion that in the series of measures for the extirpation of slavery and the elevation and enfranchisement of the black race the Republican party had lost at least a quarter of a million of voters. In every great battle of the last eight years the timid, the weak faltered, fell back or slunk away into the ranks of the enemy. Yes, sir; while we have been struggling often against fearful odds, timid men, weak men, and bad men, too, following the examples of timid men, weak men, and bad men, in all the great struggles for the rights of human nature, have broken from our advancing ranks and fallen back to the rear or gone over to the enemy, thus giving to the foe the strength they had pledged to us. But we have gone on prospering, and we shall go on prospering in spite of treacheries on the right hand and on the left. The timid may chide us, the weak reproach us, and the bad malign us, but we shall strive on, for in struggling to secure and protect the rights of others we assure our own.

To the enemies of equal rights, whether they be its life-long foes or recruits from our ranks, I say your shafts now, as in the past, may annoy us, but they cannot penetrate the panoply with which our chosen and avowed policy invests us. The country knows and the world knows your history and our history, where you now are and where we are, what you are and what we are. The friends of free institutions the wide world over recognize the glorious fact that the far-reaching, comprehensive, and crowning deed of emancipation in America was the beneficent work of the Republican party. They recognize the fact, too, that in the great work of emancipation democracy and conservatism had no part; that they were, and now are, the deadliest foes of the African race on the face of the earth. Everywhere the sympathies of the liberal and progressive men are with us. The confidence of the humane, the generous, and the just are with us. By striving to lift up and hold up the feeble and dependent, the smitten sons and daughters of sorrow and misfortune, we strengthen ourselves. That law of our being applies alike to individuals and organizations. Years of devotion to the oppressed have placed the Republican party of the United States on a plane so lofty and in a position so strong as not to be successfully assaulted by foes who have chosen their ground so far below. * * * *

## *POLITICAL RIGHTS—THE SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT.*

SPEECH OF HON. WM. D. KELLEY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

*Delivered in the House of Representatives, January 29th,* 1869.

Mr. KELLEY said:

Mr. SPEAKER, it is not necessary that I should address the House to inform gentlemen who were members of the Thirty-Eighth or Thirty-Ninth Congress what my views are on either of the questions now pending. I have advocated such an amendment of the Constitution and such a law from 1865, when I was first convinced that the Constitution vests in Congress the right to regulate the suffrage, and as an amendment to the bill which called forth the celebrated Wade and Davis manifesto, proposed a clause which would have invested with the right of suffrage those citizens of African descent who had served in the Army or the Navy or who could read the Constitution of the United States. The first provision was accepted by the committee and embodied in the bill, and the House rejected the other. The Republican party was then groping timidly in the dark. Whether it now sees its duty more clearly we are about to learn by the fate of the pending propositions. On the 27th of February, 1866, after several brief incidental discussions of the point, I laid before the House copious authorities in support of my theory, drawn from the debates in the Federal Convention for framing the Constitution and the several State Conventions which accepted it, and closed my remarks with a prophecy which, I trust, is about to be fulfilled at this time. I said:

"In conclusion, I repeat that I hold that all the power this amendment will give is already in the Constitution. I admit that it has lain dormant. I admit that there has been raised over it a superincumbent mass of State and political usage and judicial decisions that is mountain high; but when I remember the mass of judicial decisions, of State and political usage, which was swept away by the decision of Judge Taney's court that the Missouri compromise was unconstitutional, I am persuaded that it will yet be quickened and called into action. The aroused people will demand that all the powers of the Constitution be exercised so that each State shall be guaranteed a republican government, and that the citizens of each State shall enjoy peaceably the privileges and immunities of citizenship in the respective States; but as some gentlemen question the existence of the power, and others the propriety of exercising it at this time, I hope we will submit this amendment to the people, that they may more explicitly empower Congress to enforce and maintain their rights throughout the limits of our wide-spread country."

Sir, I came upon this mass of historic evidence when seeking to relieve my mind from the doubts in which public opinion had been involved by the persistent assertions and fine-spun logic of the advocates of State sovereignty upon the question, is sovereignty in the States or the United States. In reading the Constitution I found that section two of article four provides that—

"The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States."

And yet I saw citizens leave the State of Maine or New Hampshire or Massachusetts, voters, jurors and possible officeholders, and pass into the State of the gentleman who addressed the House so eloquently last night—Kentucky—[Mr. McKee,] and be degraded by her laws to the position he so touchingly described, in which they might be robbed of property or life itself; and, though twenty persons with a slight infusion of African blood in their veins beheld the transaction, the court by excluding those witnesses from the witness-stand by reason of the taint in their blood would adjudge that no crime had been committed. I asked myself can it be possible that the framers of our Constitution had undertaken to secure the privileges and immunities of citizens in all the States to all the citizens of each State but had provided no means of securing them. I could not believe they had been guilty of so fatal an omission.

Proceeding in the study of the letter of the Constitution I found that article four of the same section says:

"The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of Government."

How was this power to be exercised? How was the guarantee to be carried into effect? Accepting the political dogmas of the parties of those days—for on this point they did not differ—I could find no provision by which these high duties of the Government could be executed. Finding the political teachers of the day utterly at fault, I went back, as I have said, to consult those who framed the Constitution and asked, what did they say to each other in the discussion of that august Convention, charged with a duty as grand as ever was confided to any deliberative body? I turned to the recorded views of James Madison the leader of that Convention, and who is known to history as its father because of the influence he exercised in its counsels and in molding its conclusion. I found that on the 13th of June, 1788, in the Virginia convention, Mr. Madison, in response to Mr. Monroe, who appealed to him as the gentleman who had been in the Federal Convention for an explanation of section four of article one, explained that it provided for the execution of both these guarantees. And in my remarks of February 27th, 1866, when I pressed upon the attention of the House all the authorities from this source which have yet been brought to the attention of the House, I quoted the following from his reply:

"Some States might regulate the elections on the principles of equality, and others might regulate them otherwise. This diversity would be obviously unjust. Elections are regulated now unequally in some States, particularly South Carolina, with respect to Charleston, which has a representation of thirty members. Should the people of any State by any means be deprived of the right of suffrage, it was judged proper that it should be remedied by the General Government.

Are not hundreds of thousands of the people of Kentucky, Maryland, and Delaware deprived of the right of suffrage? Are not forty thousand people in Pennsylvania deprived of it? Do not Ohio and Indiana and other States withold from citizens of African descent that essential right, and is it not the duty of Congress to invest them with it by executing that provision of the Constitution which James Madison pointed to as the means by which it could be secured to each and all?

Mr. Woodward.—Will the gentleman allow me to ask him a question?

Mr. Kelley.—Having but twenty minutes in which to discuss so grave a question I must decline to yield to any one at this time.

Thus the question of the power of Congress to enact the pending bill was brought distinctly before the Virginia convention, and this was the answer made by "the father of the Constitution:"

"Should the people of any State by any means be deprived of the right of suffrage it was judged proper that it should be remedied by the General Government."

If gentlemen ask why, if Congress possesses it, the States have been permitted to exercise this power, as was asked on the first day of the debate by the gentleman from Kentucky, [Mr. Knott,] I reply in the language of that same speech of Mr. Madison, as follows:

"It was found impossible to fix the time, place, and manner of the election of Representatives in the Constitution. It was found necessary to leave the regulation of this, in the first place, to the State governments, as being best acquainted with the situation of the people, subject to the control of the General Government, in order to enable it to produce uniformity and prevent its own dissolution."

But Madison was not the only statesman who so expounded the clause of the Constitution I refer to, nor was Virginia the only State that accepted the Constitution under that interpretation of the clause. In the North Carolina convention Mr. Bloodworth asked this question:

"Now, sir, does not this clause give an unlimited and unbounded power to Congress over the times, places, and manner of choosing Representatives?"

And answered his own question with another of great significance, as follows:

"May not their power over the manner of election enable them to exclude from voting every description of men they please?"

North Carolina was thus notified of the construction of the clause, yet, with Virginia, she adopted the Constitution. The same views were presented in New England. I quote from the debates of the Massachusetts convention the remarks of Theophilus Parsons, as follows:

"But a State Legislature, under the influence of their Senators, who would have their fullest confidence, or under the influence of ambitious or popular characters, or in time of popular commotion, and when faction and party spirit run high, would introduce such regulations as would render the right of the people insecure and of little value. They might make an unequal and partial division of the State into districts for the election of Representatives, or they might even disqualify one-third of the electors. Without these powers in Congress, the people can have no remedy; but the fourth section provides a remedy, a controlling power in the Legislature, composed of Senators and Representatives of twelve States, without the influence of our commotions and factions, who will hear impartially, and preserve and restore to the people their equal and sacred rights of election."

Mr. Speaker, as early as 1807, but seventeen years after the adoption of the Constitution, the Democratic party in this House, through its leading orator, John Randolph of Virginia, could find no answer to the proposition other than that it had lapsed by non-user. They contended that a correlative power, residing, as Madison had said, primarily in the State, but subject to the supervision of Congress, had lapsed, had become a dead-letter in seventeen years, before it had been fairly tested whether the States would regulate the suffrage upon principles of justice!

If gentleman will refer to the annals of Congress, Tenth Congress, first session, pp. 887, they will find that in the discussion of the contested election case of Barney *vs.*, Creery, Mr. Fisk, of Vermont, announced the same theory I am now advocating. The report reads as follows:

"There was one part of the Constitution applicable in the present discussion which had not been noticed. He alluded to the fourth section of the first article. 'The times, places, and manner,' etc. Mr. Fisk would only ask the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Randolph), who had so ably defended the right of the States, if the power of Congress was not coequal and coextensive with that of the States. Congress might alter and prescribe the rule of elections so far as respected the time, *manner*, and place. (The word 'manner' is italicized in the report). If the gentleman contended that the States had a right to fix qualifications, he must also admit that Congress had the same right."

John Randolph, of Roanoke, had no other reply to make to the suggestion than this:

"The gentleman from Vermont has quoted a part of the Constitution which had nothing to do with this subject—which, in fact, in this day is nothing better than a dead-letter. Would the gentleman from Vermont move for a bill to regulate the time, place, and manner of holding elections in the several States for members to that House? After all that could be said, practice, long-established practice under the Constitution, was the best evidence what the Constitution was. Powers indisputably exercised by the States ever since its adoption were as much departed from the General Government and imparted to the States as if especially delegated by the Constitution itself."

John Randolph was on that day surrounded in the two Houses of Congress by members of the Federal Convention and of the several State conventions, and in their presence did not dare to deny that the power asserted by Mr. Fisk, and which the friends of the pending bill propose to exercise, had been embodied in the Constitution; but, evading the issue, he claimed that because in the brief period of seventeen years it had not been exercised by Congress it had lapsed or become a dead-letter. I would like some of the lawyers of this House to show me how the powers expressly conferred on a Government by a written Constitution can lapse because no emergency requiring their exercise has arisen. So preposterous a suggestion required the genius and fame of John Randolph to secure it a respectful hearing.

This power is not, I freely admit, one to be exercised by Congress in the first instance. The regulation of the suffrage is left primarily to the States. If they regulate it according to the principles of justice then their action stands; but if not, Congress is required to exercise its supervisory power. And, gentlemen, has not the time arrived for the exercise of this power? Do not two hundred and fifty thousand citizens of the United States in the single State of Kentucky, whose homes and persons are ravaged with legal impunity, whose property is insecure, who have no voice in the government, whose appeals for justice may not be heard in the courts of that State, proclaim to you and to the country that the time has come when a Republican Congress should call into operation this latent power, and give them and the people similarly situated in other States the power to protect themselves by the peaceful exercise of the right of suffrage in the choice of legislators and other officers? This duty is before us, and we cannot with honor shrink from or evade it. Sound policy and justice with equal voice demand its performance.

How, sir, by means other than the passage of this bill, can we do justice to all the citizens of those States who recognize, as all ought to, the citizenship of every man? How otherwise will you carry out as to them the fourth section of the second article of the Constitution, and secure them "in each State all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States?" By no other means can that clause of your Constitution be executed. By what other means can you guaranty to each State "a republican form of government?" Gentlemen may answer that it may be done by a constitutional amendment. To secure the adoption of such an amendment may require several years, and this duty is already laid upon Congress, and ought to be performed by the immediate passage of a law, and then endeavor to make it a part of the Constitution also. It should be embodied in distinct language in the fundamental law of the land. But gentlemen cannot avoid their responsibility in the premises by shrinking from the performance of plain duty or attempting to cast it upon the Legislatures of the several States.

## *SUFFRAGE.—THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT.*

SPEECH OF HON. B. F. WHITTEMORE, OF SOUTH CAROLINA.

*Delivered in the House of Representatives, January* 28, 1869.

On the joint resolution (H. R. No. 402) proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

MR. WHITTEMORE.—Mr. Speaker, the heresy of State rights should no longer warp our conclusions or be dragged into our future legislation. We have no longer the slaveholder to appease or slavery to conserve. An Almighty arm has settled that question and severed the chains that bound us. Sectional as it was in its inception, local in its organization, it has been met and overcome. But its devotees still remind us of its power and prejudice which so long exercised its cruel sway and oppressive influences. We cannot shirk our responsibility; the present is the auspicious moment to declare the legal and political equality of all persons, and to proclaim national protection wherever the flag of our country is unfuried, over all who demand at our hands security to their persons and their God-given immunities. We cannot stop our ears to this appeal; it must not be disregarded. The sacrifices upon the altars of our country, the blood of the heroic slain, the untold treasures expended, the sighs, groans, and sufferings of the bereaved who mourn for their beloved, martyred fathers, sons, husbands, friends, call upon us to do our duty.

"There is a spirit stirring in the land
That on the nation's palpitating heart
Takes firmest hold; from thence will not depart
'Till from Atlantic to Pacific's strand
It permeates the soil, the air, the breast
Of every freeman and of all oppressed.
It is a spirit that through centuries gone
The world's long past, its earliest morning dawn.
Has moved to noblest deeds the noblest men,
And broken galling chains of slavery.
Whose voice on mountain, valley, hill, and glen,
Proclaimed, 'Let all mankind be free.
This spirit, that bids oppression flee,
Is the unconquered soul of liberty."

Mr. Speaker, the work is before us; the past instructs us; the present admonishes, and the future awaits the result of our action—the performance of duty to know whether we have learned wisdom by experience, and can deal justly; whether we have determined "to treat our neighbors as ourselves; to acknowledge certain great truths self-evident, and give to others the immunities we claim—franchise and protection. The war abolished slavery with its sum of villainies; let Congress abolish political heresies and piratical invasions upon human rights; then will equal justice be established, and a peace that can alone be prosperous and permanent throughout the Republic; then will security be guaranteed the humblest citizen, and a unity of States that can never be severed by dissensions from within or invasions from without. Centuries are to look at our work effectually done or shamefully neglected. Let us be found equal to our task, prompt in our action, united in the cause of universal emancipation from wrong, and the acceptation of the right. The nation must award equal political privileges to all men everywhere, all over the wide extent of our common country.

Such a course will, as the honorable gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Boutwell) so truly declared, become the means of a speedy settlement of all the vexatious questions that have divided us in the past. Whatever may be said in opposition to the measure now before us, or its unconstitutionality; however much lawyers may differ in their interpretation of statutory provisions, though we may exhaust research, compile the assertions of men that agree or disagree on the rights of a citizen or what constitutes a citizen, enter into the most elaborate analysis of the law and strive

to create a holy reverence for ourselves and a grave indifference for others; though we may quote Patrick Henry, Jefferson, Madison, Chief-Justice Marshall, Story, Parsons, Taney, the oldest or the youngest of the learned in the jurisprudence of our country to prop up the old systems and errors which have created greater regard for the State than for the nation, still we are forced by the circumstances around us to acknowledge that the bone of contention will never be removed while we prate of the law and withhold justice.

Do you wish to end the controversy—settle the difficulty in the minds of those who have steadily opposed congressional reconstruction in the South? Do you propose to encourage and protect loyalty there? Then, as this bill provides, give the benefits of the franchise to every citizen in every State, without regard to race, color, or previous condition. Such a course will close the mouths of the sternest opponents of "the forced franchise," where the largest number of the colored men in our country are found. You cannot blame men of the South when they come with their accusations of inconsistency, laying them at your doors, if you still adhere to partial legislation and do not accept for yourselves what you have imposed upon them.

Shall a new sectional difficulty be created now that we have been delivered from one great curse which so nearly ruined our national existence; while the North by its prowess and championship for the right in one great issue dared to do or die that the wrong should be overcome, slavery abolished, the Union saved? Shall it falter in its action now? Shall we fail to recognize our duty to those who rallied to our standards that they might prove by their valor, devotion, suffering, death, their right to all the immunities of an American citizen? Shall we trust the pardoned rebel and not the patriot black man, whose severed limb lies mouldering at Fort Pillow, Port Hudson, Olustee, Battery Wagner, or Petersburg mine? Shall we refuse, because the remnants of degenerate philosophies or theories hang upon the verge of our Government, to declare the infamous codes of the past, false to the grand and glorious enunciations of universal justice, or to act the part of statesmen worthy of the hour—the nation's glorious opportunity?

Give to the colored man his vote. He has a national equality with you; he is an American citizen, a veteran of the field on which through bloody contests triumph alone has come, that enables us this day to legislate for an undivided country. On staff and crutch he stands demanding his rights; with scars and empty sleeves he pleads an equal franchise; with uplifted hands, which have borne the musket in the defense of your altars and your homes, of that flag, emblem of freedom, of the future greatness of our Republic, he asks, not social, but political equality. Give the colored man his vote; then and not till then will disloyalty be crushed; then and not till then will tranquility become the boon of our people; then and not till then will the material which feeds the flame of partisan and sectional strife be removed forever. This is no longer a white man's goverment; it is a government for all the people; black men have rights that white men are now enjoined to respect. They have the largest number of them given their ballots in the last election for the hero and chieftain, Gen. Grant. With true loyalty in their hearts and Grant ballots in their hands they have exercised a freeman's will and united with yourselves in securing the era of peace.

It is said but one hundred and sixty thousand colored men remain unenfranchised; about the number that were enrolled of their race in the Union armies. Surely if we could intrust them with the ballot why should we longer withhold from them the ballot? Why need we falter? Is there not in the Constitution of our nature something that speaks louder and more earnest than the voice of prejudice or caste or false legislation, which tells us that now is the most favorable time for the settlement of a question so momentous?

"Then let us act wisely, we've nothing to fear,
The voice of the people is heard far and near,
That manhood, not color, must be the sole test
Of a right to the franchise, North, South, East, and West."

I concur in all that my learned and honored friend from Massachusetts (Mr. Boutwell) has said. I believe, with him, we can not afford to do wrong. The Constitution, which we regard as the fundamental basis of law and equity, makes it our imperative duty to guarantee to every man who claims himself an American citizen the benefits of a Republican form of government. Is that government Republican which creates and maintains distinctions in franchise; that gives the vote to one and withholds it from another? The government was founded on the principle that man was endowed by his Creator with certain inalienable rights; that all men were created equal; not a portion to rule by divine right and others to be ruled by the usurpations of might *nolens volens*; that the government derived its just powers from the consent of the governed. Our fathers, out of their own experience in framing the Magna Charta, intended to denounce the dogmas of kings and tyrants and to establish as the cardinal central idea of their declarations that the people were the sovereigns, deriving from God himself the right to say who should rule over them and what form of government they would have. They start out with the bold language, "We, the people"—not the white nor the black—"do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America"—not for Massachusetts, not for Pennsylvania, not for Maryland or Virginia, but "for the United States:" and among the reasons given why they have thus ordained are these: "To form a more perfect union, establish justice, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and posterity."

Now, then, can our liberty be secure in the hands of those who question our rights? Who is secure in his freedom when debarred from saying what kind of men shall represent him? Can we believe that the one hundred and sixty thousand colored men would give, if they are invested with the franchise, their ballots for those who cast their voice, influence, argument, and vote against this measure? They are, whether acknowledged or not, the constituencies of such as will seal their destinies by their action on the grand proposition before us. As for myself, I am ready to make our fathers' words no empty boast. By all that is just, by the remembrance of past antagonisms, by the rights we enjoy, hold sacred and inviolate; by the measurements of a golden rule; that principle which should govern us in our actions and control us in our legislation, having found that there is that in our statutes destructive of the essential features of a Republican form of government, let us accept "the right to alter or to abolish" all unrepublican features of such statutes and adhere to such principles as shall seem most likely to effect the safety and happiness of all the people.

As corroborative of my own views, I close, Mr. Speaker, with the reading of a passage of the inaugural address of the Governor of Massachusetts. He says:

"A final measure to secure the tranquility of our nation is now demanded by every consideration of gratitude to the brave heroes who have fallen and of justice to those so long enslaved and as yet only partially enfranchised who aided to achieve the triumph. The American idea of liberty is based on the principle that is expressed in those immortal words of the Declaration of Independence, 'all men are created equal.' The events of the war have made free all over whom the flag of the nation waves; but as yet all are not equal at the polls, either as voters or as candidates for office. A citizen of the Union should have the same privileges whether his home is in Maryland or Massachusetts. Deny one man in Maryland his rights as to the suffrage or any other national matter, and the citizens of Massachusetts suffer as well as the disfranchised in Maryland. Let it, then, be made a part of the Constitution that suffrage on national questions shall be the same in every part of the Union; establish it in the organic law, and no change of parties can abridge the right; embrace the present opportunity and the nation will reap the full fruit of the victory. Failure now will bring doubt and uncertainty as to the future, and the friends of the ballot in other lands while they are struggling for the right will feel the loss and lament our want of courage, persistency, and fidelity to the great idea which inspired our contest."

Mr. Speaker, I trust that we shall pass this or a similar amendment, and that my State, South Carolina, may have the earliest if not the first opportunity to give her sanction to a legislation so wise and just. South Carolina having by experience learned the penalty of the advocacy of the wrong or the errors of the past, now stands ready, through her Representatives assembled, to change front and grant as well advocate rights to others she enjoys herself.

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Now that all the political and civil rights of our American negroes are established by law, they are beginning to push in all quarters for what they consider their "*social* rights." A colored woman who was refused a first-cabin passage in a steamship between here and Savannah, sued the steamship company, in the Court of Common Pleas of this city, for $5,000 damages. Judge Daly charged the jury at great length on the points of law involved, and, after a trial lasting through three or four days, the case has now come to a close by the disagreement of the jury. There is another case just reported. It appeared by our Virginia dispatches the other day that a colored man attempted to get quarters at a Petersburg hotel, but, on being ordered out and refusing to leave, was arrested and brought before the Mayor, who decided that the hotels understood to be kept for whites should not be intruded on by negroes who were not registered guests and had no right therein. In Louisiana, we believe, by enactment of the Legislature, people of both colors have equal privileges in public conveyances and public places; but we believe that nowhere else is there special law on the subject.—*New York Times.*


# National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 20, 1869.


## PREMIUMS.

PHOTOGRAPH OF JOHN G. WHITTIER.

We have completed arrangements which enable us to offer, as an additional premium for new subscribers, a life-like, handsomely finished, medium sized photograph of JOHN G. WHITTIER. It is of the same size, and in the same finished style, as that of Mr. Phillips, and by the same artist, Mr. Augustus Marshall, 145 Tremont street, Boston. As a photographer, Mr. Marshall is equalled by few, and surpassed by none in Boston, or elsewhere. Each photograph will be accompanied by Mr. Whittier's autograph. We doubt not that many of our readers, by whom everything from Mr. Whittier's pen is fondly treasured, will be glad to avail themselves of this favorable opportunity to obtain a recent and truthful likeness of him. It is the best we have ever seen of him, and will, we have no doubt, give excellent satisfaction to his numerous friends.

To any one who will remit to us for two new subscribers, one year, ($6), or to any old subscriber, remitting also for one new subscriber ($6), we will send post paid a copy of the excellent photograph of Mr. Whittier.

To any one remitting for three new subscribers, ($9), or renewing, and remitting for two new subscribers ($9), we will send one copy of the photograph of John G. Whittier, and one of Wendell Phillips.

## THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

OUR cause has always adopted the policy of concentrating its own attention, and trying to concentrate that of the public, on one thing at a time. The step immediately next is usually very definitely marked. To-day the next move for us is the ratification of the Constitutional Amendment. Cabinets and the materials of which they are made, are no doubt important. On them depend the bias of the Administration and our whole security that the laws shall be executed. To Congress we must look for such legislation as will protect men in the peaceful exercise of their rights and make what little headway law can against the social forces. And on the slow changes of thought and character we must be content to wait for a final undoing of the heavy burden and cruel yoke which prejudice lays on our hapless constituents.

But our present work is to ratify the proposed Amendment, which guarantees to the Negro the ballot throughout the Nation. Its recommendation by Congress and the President is the most advanced step yet taken by the Nation. Its ratification will be the completion and guaranty of emancipation itself. Of course it is not all we could wish; nor is it in just the form some would ask. But it covers the whole Negro race, North and South, and it contains the essential guaranty. It is the grandest and most Christian act ever contemplated or accomplished by any Nation—lifting, in a time of peace, a lately enslaved and still hated race to the full level of citizenship. Though it does not cover all it ought, in present circumstances,—still it contains within itself the cure for all its own defects. A man with a ballot in his hand is the master of the situation. He defines all his other rights. What is not already given him, he takes. As soon as the negro holds the ballot at the South, whatever he suffers will be largely now, and in future wholly, his own fault. Present poverty, ignorance and lack of combination will postpone the full use of his power; but, in the end, the ballot makes every class sovereign over its own fate. Corruption may steal from a man his independence, money may starve and intrigue fetter him at times. But against all these his vote, intelligently and honestly cast, is, in the long run, his full protection. If in the struggle his fort surrenders, it is only because it is betrayed from within. The ballot is the civil panacea. No civil war in a land of universal suffrage. Mexico and some of the bastard Republics may seem to prove otherwise. But Mexico is only a galvanized corpse, pretending to life and a soul.

The Ballot is opportunity, education, fair play, right to office, and elbow-room. Compare the New England of 1820 with the England of that year—one, after two hundred years of universal suffrage, the other, after two hundred years of timid and heartless caste, and you see the fruit of the ballot. Then take the England of to-day and you see what the imitation of her child, in this particular, has done for her in forty years. What the Alphabet is in Literature the vote is in the State.

Now, for the first time in our history, God opens to us this grand opportunity. Party necessity craves it. The peace of one whole section demands it. The welfare of the Negro race in the West Indies and throughout the world depends on the position the race attains in the management of the Great Empire of this Continent. Congress, three to one, recommends it. The Republican party lifts it as a party symbol. The idol of the Nation, its President, begs for its ratification. Never were the signs so auspicious. Never were the elements of success so abundant.

Let the veteran toilers of forty years gird themselves for a vigorous, tireless and final effort. We must insure success. Besiege your Legislatures, give your leading men no rest. Weary them with continual coming. Now is our hour. One effort now is worth months of common work. While the whole land waits breathless, for every word Grant utters, be sure that it never is allowed to forget the grandest one he ever spoke; not "*peace*," but the path to peace, "JUSTICE." When the great soldier, so tardy a convert, consents to lead the way, who of us shall slacken in the following?

What would we not have given, a year ago, to have been assured that to-day we should see such a VOTE at the Capitol, and hear such a WORD from the White House? Can our gratitude for such success find content in anything but the *utmost effort of which we are capable* to make that word the mightiest blow even his sword ever struck for humanity and justice. WENDELL PHILLIPS.

## HOMESTEADS.

IN the March number of the *American Missionary* is a very interesting account of Moses Fisher. Taking advantage of the confusion of wartime, he absconded from his master's premises, and started with his family for the United States camp. They travelled forty miles through the deepest recesses of the woods, careful to keep in solitary places, lest they should be seized and dragged back into slavery. The parents carried on their heads their little stock of rags, dishes, and kettles, and the children trudged after, leading their blind old grandmother. How many such groups the stars looked down upon, while the armies of the North were fighting for one idea and slowly finding another! At last, the weary fugitives came in sight of the United States flag, and under cover of the night crept into the camp. There they poured forth their grateful hearts in thanks to God for the freedom they had gained, and there they remained to render willing and faithful service for the protection they received. A Bible was wrapped up in the rags they "toted" on their heads. None of them could read a word of it; but Moses felt assured he had a treasure shut up there, that some time or other would be unlocked for him. All through the war, he guarded it carefully, sleeping with it under his head, and hiding it in safe places in time of danger.

When the war was over, Moses, with thousands of his brethren, were left without resources, to wander among a people who hated them for their loyalty to the United States. There were thousands of acres of wild land in the South, but none for the homeless freedmen. A timid Congress "dawdled" away its opportunities, and the President busied himself with restoring plantations to rebel masters. They were all too much occupied with conciliating the Democratic Party, to think of providing the black soldiers and servants of the United States army with a patch of ground whereon to raise food for their families.

But no discouragements could dishearten Moses Fisher. He had nothing but his wife and children, his rags and kettles. But he made a bargain with a white man to clear up an almost impenetrable swamp, for the privilege of cultivating for three years such land as he could subdue. There the whole family toiled at ditching and grubbing the soil, with such rude implements as they could contrive. In summer, the mother and children picked berries and carried them to market; at other times, they made up bundles of light-wood, which they carried on their backs in search of purchasers. In one season, the mother and her little girl picked and sold forty-three dollars worth of berries; and the father and his little boy tapped and dipped two hundred and sixty dollars worth of turpentine; but of this sum he was obliged to give half to the owner of the soil. Undismayed by the formidable obstacles they had to contend with, this brave family toiled on, month after month, cutting away thick under-brush, grubbing up tangled roots, and planting corn and potatoes. With the logs they hewed they made themselves a comfortable shelter, and a few rude articles of furniture. Before their harvest was ripe, a log-barn was erected wherein to store it. In a shattered box brought from the army was stored the precious Bible, which as yet none of them could read. But at last some of the noble army of Northern teachers penetrated into that region. The nearest school was five miles off. But for two years the little boy and girl trudged thither in the morning and back again in the afternoon, scarcely ever missing a day. From their little tongues the patient and trusting father at last heard the contents of the Bible he had treasured so long. One day the Northern teacher walked home with these bright, industrious children, and was warmly welcomed by the grateful parents. They showed with great satisfaction the hundred bushels of corn which they had stored in their little barn. The Bible was brought from its box and its history related. "All the while I was toting it about," said Moses, "I knowed there was a heap o' good inside of it, and I had faith that some time or other it would come out of it to me; and now my little children are teaching me the heavenly message."

This simple story of persevering faith and patience affected me deeply; and it made it harder than ever to forgive Congress for not having provided these poor outcasts of slavery with small homesteads of their own, at moderate prices. Poor Moses, after wearing out his muscles with incessant toil for three years, will not own one rood of the land he has cleared. He will still be landless and homeless, and compelled for daily food to submit to the hard terms of grasping, unpitying masters, who are accustomed to consider his race fore-ordained to toil without wages. If it had been made easy for the freedmen to become owners of land, how much their industry would have been stimulated and the wealth of the nation increased! Nothing improves the characters of human beings like having a home of their own; and a country has no element of prosperity so certain as that of laborers who own the soil they cultivate.

Philanthropists have given large sums of money to Lee's College in Virginia, where the Traitor Chief "teaches the young idea how to shoot" at the United States Flag, when another opportunity offers. If the money thus bestowed had been formed into a fund to purchase tracts of land, and sell it at low prices to the homeless freedmen, what a vast amount of good might have been accomplished!

The murderous delays in the prosecution of the war, the deferring of justice till it became a necessity, the "dawdling" of Congress while the golden sands of opportunity were running through the hour-glass, were very trying to honest and earnest souls; but that which has since assumed the name of magnanimity, because it not only forgives crime but rewards it, is perhaps the most trying of all. After all the contempt and violence we have received at the hands of our former masters, the slaveholders, it seems as if we were still too much dazzled by their assumption of lordly superiority, to be able to judge Gen. Lee of Arlington House precisely as we should judge one of his black servants, if guilty of the same enormous crimes.

Certainly, I rejoice that we did not imitate the barbarisms of England toward her Scottish rebels, or toward her Hindoo rebels of more recent date. But taking land from industrious, loyal freedmen who were cultivating it, and giving it back to proud and lazy rebels, who had forfeited it, does not seem to me either magnanimous in principle, or wise as policy. Travelling to Virginia to congratulate Jeff Davis and be responsible for his Honor's honor, talking of "the brave Gen. Lee," and loading him with donations to endow a college of young rebels, while Wurtz, the poor, ignorant tool of those bad men, was ignominiously hung, seems to me outrageous injustice, and calculated to produce in the minds of the people utter confusion of ideas concerning right and wrong; a confusion which in future emergencies may do much to hinder a great uprising for the right.

But though I complain that forbearance toward a guilty party has been carried to excess, involving, as it has done, injustice toward an innocent party, and unsettling the foundations of right and wrong, still, I never for one moment wished that any class or condition of men at the South should be without homesteads and the means of obtaining an independent living by their own industry and enterprise. To the "poor whites" who fought against us in the blindness of their ignorance, I would offer every facility for obtaining as much land as they would cultivate, and I would try to raise them up to the idea that honest labor is honorable above all things. And though my sympathies do not flow out so readily to the slaveholders as to their victims, white and black, I do not forget that they also were the victims of a bad institution, and that we, if we had been brought up under the influences of slavery, should have formed the same bad habits and the same false principles. Their sons will mature into truer manhood, under a better order of things. And I should be sorry to see the generation that is passing away deprived of homesteads and a sufficiency of land. Incurably violent and arrogant as they are, I would not impoverish them if I could. But I *would* so manage affairs, by confiscation, fines, or sale for taxes, that one rebel master should not hold in his exclusive possession from one thousand to twenty thousand acres, while his loyal laborers cannot own ground enough for a potato patch. In some way or other, this great evil *can* be remedied, and the good of all classes in the country requires that it *should* be remedied, as soon as possible.

L. MARIA CHILD.

## GEORGIA.

WE trust Congress will not adjourn without some decisive action in relation to Georgia. The work of reconstruction needs to be more thorough than it has yet been in that State. It does not follow that because, in the "muddle" of the Convention which counted the electoral votes, those of Georgia were foolishly included, therefore Congress has nothing left to do but to admit unquestioned, the Senators and Representatives from that State, and to assume that the present body, calling itself the "Georgia Legislature" is a legitimate one. Suppose the majority of the originally elected members of the Georgia Legislature to have been colored men, and that they had expelled the minority of white men, for no other cause than a difference of complexion, would Congress have allowed month after month to pass without a return of the expelled members to their seats, or the establishment of a provisional government for the State?

We urge Senators and Representatives not to adjourn for the long, summer interval, without prompt and decisive action such, as the emergency of the situation demands. The present body, styled the Legislature of Georgia, is in no proper sense legal, and is little better than an organized conspiracy of bitter, unrepentant rebels. Murder and fiendish Ku-Klux outrages continue to be of almost daily occurrence.

It is time to put a stop to such rebel "amusement" as is detailed in the following telegram which we clip from to-day's (Wednesday's) *Tribune*:

"ATLANTA, Ga., March 16.—About three miles from Barnett's Station, where a month ago the Rebels took possession of a railroad train, another band of Ku-Klux on Sunday night prowled about until daybreak, committing numerous outrages on colored people. They beat eleven freedmen almost to death, fractured the arm of one, and shot another quite dead. They also whipped most cruelly a bright mulatto girl only 16 years old, and, when insensible and almost dead, four of the fiends in succession outraged her person."

Another Atlanta (Ga.) telegram to *The Tribune* of Monday last gives the following account of the lynching of Dr. George M. Darden by the Ku-Klux:

"Dr. George M. Darden, a highly respectable and wealthy citizen and well known loyalist of Warren County, had a personal difficulty some days since which resulted in his shooting a man named Wallace, editor of the Ku-Klux journal at Warrenton. He immediately surrendered to the civil authorities and was placed in jail on Friday last. Sheriff Norris, fearing Darden would be unsafe there, called on the better classes of citizens to act as a posse to guard the jail over night, but the citizens declined to act, being overawed by a band of Ku-Klux numbering about one hundred, who took immediate possession of the town.

"They then demanded the keys from the Sheriff, and on his refusal to deliver them, became so violent that he was compelled to seek safety in flight taking the keys with him. The band then at midnight returned to the jail and broke into it. Fearing that Darden had a pistol, the cowardly assassins built a fire at the doorway and smoked him out. Dr. Darden ask time to make a will, which was granted. He was then taken out, and in presence of his wife and children barbarously murdered by these savages, not less than one hundred and fifty pistol balls piercing his body. The Sheriff is now here asking military protection for his county and his own life. Since the assassination of the Sheriff of Richmond County at the November election, this man is the only Republican Sheriff left in the State.

"An attempt was made to assassinate Darden last September, and warrants were obtained by him against certain parties, which warrants were in the hands of the present Sheriff for service, when he (Norris), was waylaid and wounded in December. The county of Warren is the headquarters of the Ku-Klux for the six surrounding counties, and it is in this section that the outrages and murders upon Republicans have been most frequently committed. Application has repeatedly and continually been made by the civil authorities on the military for protection and assistance in that section, but without avail."

With the advent of the new Administration we were promised the end of the diabolical reign of the Ku-Klux. Their complete suppression may not be compassed at once, but no effort should be spared to that end. "Let us have peace."

## MR. BOUTWELL IN THE CABINET.

WE have already taken occasion to express our gratification with the address of the newly inaugurated President, especially its hearty endorsement of the Suffrage Amendment, and its friendly allusion to prospective citizenship for the Indians. In his selection of Gov. BOUTWELL for a most responsible trust in his Cabinet, President GRANT has given added evidence of an intelligent purpose to create and establish an upright, vigorous, effective administration, from which we take great encouragement. Of Gov. BOUTWELL'S eminent fitness and ability for his special trust, the secretaryship of the Treasury, we have no doubt. But his presence in the Cabinet means much more than this. He is a representative man, unlike some of his associates, in the sphere of ideas. By efficient service he is honorably identified with the cause of impartial freedom for our clients, the colored people. His record on the important question of Impeachment is one of which he may well be proud, certain that the verdict of history will be, as is that of intelligent, loyal citizens to-day, in his favor. We are glad to accept his appointment as a guarantee that the pledges of the government not only in regard to its money obligations, but in that larger and more important sphere of indebtedness, involving the freedom and well being of a hitherto enslaved people, will be faithfully and honorably fulfilled.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS.

Senator Pomeroy on Tuesday last introduced in the Senate a bill to establish woman suffrage in Utah.

THE THIRTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY will be held at Steinway Hall in this city, on Tuesday, May 11th.

The abolition of slavery has been proclaimed by the Revolutionary party in Cuba, and there is a fair prospect that the slaves of that Island will speedily gain their freedom; also that independence of Spanish rule will ere long be achieved.

The jury in the case of Mrs. Jacobs against the proprietors of the steamer *Leo*, which has recently been on trial in this city, failed to agree. It will be remembered that Mrs. Jacobs was violently put off the steamer at Savannah on account of her color, after having paid for a first-class passage. Her claim was for five thousand dollars damages. We hope it will be pressed until she is successful in obtaining redress.

The Hon JAMES M. SIMMS of Savannah, Ga., one of the expelled colored members of the Georgia Legislature and a brother of Thomas Simms, will address a meeting at the Cooper Institute (Room 24) on Friday evening, (19th inst.) He will speak of affairs in Georgia, of the condition and needs of the colored people, and urge the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment. Mr. Simms is expected to preach in New Haven on the 21st inst., and thereafter to address a series of meetings in Connecticut.

We print elsewhere an interesting synopsis of the proceedings of the Womans Rights Convention held last week in Springfield, Mass., which we take from *The Springfield Republican*. We are glad to notice that the resolutions urge the ratification of the pending Fifteenth Amendment, guaranteeing suffrage to colored men upon equal terms with whites, as in effect preparing the way for a still farther extension of suffrage; and that they call for the adoption by the Forty-First Congress of an additional Amendment abolishing and prohibiting all political distinctions on account of sex.

The regular monthly meeting of *The Radical Club*, of Boston, was held on Monday last in Mr. and Mrs. SARGENT'S parlors. The essayist was the Rev. S. H. MORSE, one of the editors of *The Radical*. His subject was "The Soul and the World." The attendance was large, including the Rev. James Freeman Clarke, Mr. Frothingham of this city, Miss Peabody, Mrs. Cheney and others. We are indebted to Mr. J. B. Marvin for a synopsis of the essay, and a very interesting report of the conversation which followed. We are compelled reluctantly to defer the report till our next issue.

The following States have already ratified the Fifteenth Constitutional Amendment:

KANSAS,
LOUISIANA,
MISSOURI,
NEVADA,
WEST VIRGINIA,
ILLINOIS,
WISCONSIN,
MICHIGAN,
MAINE,
SOUTH CAROLINA,
ARKANSAS.

The so-called Legislature of Georgia is trying to ratify the Amendment, and it has already been ratified by the Pennsylvania Senate, and is under consideration, as we write, at Albany. The rebel Democrats of Indiana, and in other States, make strong, but we trust, ineffective opposition.

We give on our first page this week, extracts of speeches made by SENATOR WILSON, JUDGE KELLEY and others in Congress while the Fifteenth Amendment was under consideration. It will be remembered that, as originally introduced by Mr. Boutwell, from the House Judiciary Committee, the Amendment was accompanied by a Political Rights Bill, somewhat less comprehensive than Mr. Sumner's which we have already presented to our readers. The arguments which these speeches present in behalf of the adoption by Congress of the Amendment are equally applicable for its ratification by the State Legislatures; and we commend them to the careful consideration of our readers, and especially to the members of the Legislatures, of the "doubtful" States. The ratification of the Amendment, which we assume will ultimately be consummated, ought to be anticipated by Congress by the immediate passage of a Political Rights Bill, the equivalent of that offered by Mr. Sumner, or of Mr. Boutwell's in behalf of which Judge Kelley's speech was made. The unjust proscription and disfranchisement of colored citizens cannot be cut short one hour too soon.

An important meeting of representative Irish Republicans was held in Washington on the 8th inst. It was held for the purpose of interchanging opinions in regard to the best means of bringing before the mass of Irish citizens of the country the great principles of the Republican party.

The meeting was called to order by Major James Haggerty of this city, and David Bell, L. L. D., editor of the *Irish Republic* of New York, was chosen to preside.

The *National Republican* of the 9th inst. publishes a full account of the proceedings. It is an important movement and will doubtless mark the date of a "new departure" for many of the more thoughtful, intelligent, Irish citizens who have hitherto allowed themselves to follow blindly in the rank and file of the misnamed "Democratic" party. We extract the following from the series of resolutions adopted as indicative of the character of the new movement:

*Resolved*, That exercising under the liberal laws of this Republic that liberty, which it is the will of the Creator that every man should possess, we would consider ourselves guilty of the most contemptible inconsistency were we to grudge or deny it to any class or color of our brethren of mankind.

*Resolved*, That we most cordially congratulate the colored people of America on the prospect of their being speedily invested with the rights of citizenship in every State and section of the Union, and we demand that equal rights shall be extended to all who are not guilty of crime, irrespective of religious or political creed, or of color, race or sex.

*Resolved*, That we solemnly pledge ourselves to sustain and advocate the cause of human freedom in this Republic, and all over the earth, and to labor to bring our countrymen into the ranks of the great party of liberty in this country.

*Resolved*, That such a course of political action is most imperatively demanded of us by our allegiance to the great country under whose protection we live, by our love to our native land, still in bondage, by the best interests of our entire people, and by the duty which we owe alike to God and man to defend and support the liberties of the world.

A national organization was formed, and a resolution adopted calling a Convention to meet in Chicago on the fourth of July next.

## PERSONAL.

Joshua Hutchinson, of the Hutchinson Family, has returned to New England after a very successful concert tour in Pennsylvania and at the West.

*The Tribune's* Washington correspondent March 16th, says:

"Miss Van Lew, who rendered the State some service as a Union spy for Gen. Grant, in the Potomac army, is to receive the appointment of Postmistress at Richmond, Va."

Sallie Holley who is at present with Miss Putman in Virginia, was announced to lecture in Richmond on the 14th instant; and in Petersburg on the 17th. She is expected to speak this (Saturday) evening at Farmville; and on Monday evening next, the 22d instant, at Fredericksburg.

Lucretia Mott attended and addressed the Race street Friends' meeting, Philadelphia, on the 13th instant. A friend in Philadelphia writing of her discourse says: "It was very able, more varied than usual and full of rich and beautiful truths, calculated to make the listener think wisely and act well."

Gen. Butler on Saturday introduced to Secretary Boutwell a colored man from New Orleans, named Joubert, and recommended him for appointment as Assessor of Internal Revenue in that city. Joubert said he did not desire the office from pecuniary considerations, but merely to test the disposition of the party in power as to the rights of his race.

William Wells Brown has just returned from a lecturing tour at the West. While at St. Louis he visited his old master, whom he had not seen for more than thirty years, who called in some twenty-five of his neighbors to see him, who in turn invited him to spend an evening with them. Mr. Brown found them very pleasant people, and very decisively "reconstructed."

Miss Anna E. Dickinson lectured on Tuesday night at Des Moines, Ill., and was engaged to lecture on the following evening at Mount Pleasant, about 165 miles distant. Having missed the train on Wednesday morning, and being determined to fulfill her engagement, she hired a locomotive to take her through, for which she paid the round sum of $100. The locomotive left town with flying colors, with Miss Dickinson seated near the engineer.

*The Boston Commonwealth* says:

"Mr. Alcott and family, who have been spending the Winter in Boston and vicinity, return this week to their picturesque home in Concord. The house, which is an ancient one, remodelled by Mr. Alcott eight or ten years ago, stands in the midst of an orchard, under a wood-side, close by the estate of the Hawthorne family, which is now offered for sale. Here Miss Louisa Alcott wrote most of the tales and sketches which have been so popular, and among them 'Little Women,' of which 6,000 copies have already been sold."

Mrs. Lydia Beecher, widow of Dr. Lyman Beecher, well-known as a woman of great ability and usefulness, died at her residence, No. 57 Hoyt street, Brooklyn, on Saturday, of an attack of influenza, succeeded by congestion of the lungs, after a few days' illness. Mrs. Beecher, whose maiden name was Beals, was born in Boston, Mass. She was first married, says *The Tribune*, to Capt. Joseph Jackson of that city, and some years after his death became the wife of Dr. Beecher, sharing with him a large portion of those labors which have made his name everywhere revered. Mrs. Beecher's powers of mind were unimpaired to the last hour of her life, and her death was a quiet falling asleep.

*The Liberal Christian* says:

"The very interesting articles in the *Atlantic* on Coöperative Housekeeping have attracted a great deal of attention, and wits and wise men have been putting their heads together to see if something cannot be done to translate the airy nothings of the fair writer's brain into a local habitation and a name. It has been proposed that a number of families of congenial tastes shall try the experiment of coöperative housekeeping in a practical way at some convenient place near this city, and Eagleswood, N. J., has been mentioned as the most attractive location for putting the plan into execution. The large, finely situated and admirably arranged school-edifice, owned by Marcus Spring, Esq., is well suited to the purpose, and we learn that he would be glad to take stock in the enterprise. We hope the experiment will be tried, and shall watch its operations with peculiar interest, satisfied that there is a world of welfare for our homeless humanity in that direction."

The following correspondence between Mr. Bancroft and Count Bismarck is of interest as affording another evidence of the good will of the latter toward our country:

"MY DEAR COUNT: On Thursday, the 4th of March, Mr. Grant will be inaugurated as President of the United States. I shall be very happy if the Chancellor of the North German Confederation will do me the honor to dine at the American Legation on that day, at 6 o'clock. I remain, as ever, most respectfully and very truly yours, GEORGE BANCROFT."

"BERLIN, Feb. 26th, 1869.

"MY DEAR SIR: Although, as a rule, I am unable, in my actual state of health and occupation, to accept invitations to dinner, I shall be glad to express my respect and admiration for the chief of that friendly nation of yours by joining your hospitable board on the 4th of

March. Believe me, as ever, yours very sincerely,

"V. BISMARCK.

His Excellency, the Minister of the United States of America.

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In reply to a letter from a member of the Executive Committee of the colored Republicans assembled in Baltimore City, to the Hon. J. Cresswell, congratulating him on his appointment as Postmaster-General, regarding it as an evidence that the Administration of Gen. Grant intends to work out the grand result of the ultimate triumph of true republican principles, Mr. Cresswell returned the following answer:

POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C., March 9th, 1869.

MR. GEORGE MYERS—*My Dear Sir:* I value highly your congratulatory note of the 6th inst., and am happy to have your assurance that the colored men of my State approve of my appointment to a position in the Cabinet of our illustrious President. In turn I congratulate you, and through you all of your race, upon the noble stand taken by President Grant in his inaugural in favor of the ratification of the proposed constitutional amendment.

Very truly yours, JOHN A. CRESSWELL.

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George W. Smalley, Esq., in a London letter to *The Tribune*, dated Feb. 27th, says:

"Our good Virginian Radical, Moncure D. Conway, was last week elected a Fellow of the Anthropological Society of London. I know not how many years Mr. Conway has been a resident in England, but it must be six or seven at least, and his history is a remarkable one. He has achieved a kind of success difficult to an Englishman, and doubly difficult to an American in England. There is no place where competition in literary work is so keen, where the supply is so much greater than the demand, as London: and where one man succeeds in a purely literary career, there are scores who fail. Mr. Conway, without any other aid than his own energy and genius, has made his way into the front rank of writers in the periodical press. There are three daily journals in London so superior to the rest as to constitute a class by themselves, and to two of these Mr. Conway is a regular contributor of leading articles. His work is equally sought for in such reviews and magazines as the *Frazer*, the *Fortnightly*, and the *Westminster*. In the midst of all this labor, he has found time for independent scientific pursuits, and for regular discourses on Sunday in South Place Chapel, to which he attracts a large body of thoughtful hearers. He has a wide acquaintance among scientific and literary men—with Huxley and Tyndall, Carlyle, Froude, Browning, and many another name well known in America—with whom, as well as in general society, he is a great favorite. Secure in his position, he has settled himself comfortably in a house in Notting-Hill Square, with all the air of a man to whom London has become a permanent home, but who is thoroughly American spite of his long exile, and who does good service to America in many ways; not least by the example of a successful career due to that kind of culture and ability in which Americans are supposed to be most deficient."

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Vice President Colfax, on taking leave of the House of Representatives, delivered an impressive farewell address in which he said:

"The fourteen years during which I have been associated with the representatives of the people here have been full of eventful legislation, of exciting issues, and of grave decisions vitally affecting the entire Republic. All these, with the accompanying scenes which so often reproduced in this arena of debate the warmth of feeling of our antagonizing constituencies, have passed into the domain of history. And I but refer to them to express the joy which apparently is shared by the mass of our countrymen, that the storm-cloud of war which so long darkened our national horizon at last passed away, leaving our imperilled Union saved; and that by the decree of the people—more powerful than Presidents, or Congresses, or armies—liberty was proclaimed throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof.

But I cannot leave you without one word of rejoicing over the present position of our Republic amongst the nations of the earth. With our military power and almost illimitable resources, exemplified by the war that enveloped them; with our rapidly augmenting population, and the welcome at our gate to the oppressed of all other climes, with our vast and increasing agricultural, mechanical, manufacturing, and mineral capabilities; with our frontage on the two great oceans of the globe, and our almost completed Pacific Railroad, uniting these opposite shores, and becoming the highway of nations, the United States of America commands the respect among the powers of the world which insures the maintenance of all its national rights and the security of all its citizens from oppression or injustice abroad. Nor is this all. The triumphal progress of free institutions here, has had its potent influence beyond the seas. The right of the people to govern, based on the sacred principle of our Revolution, that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, is everywhere advanced—not with slow and measured steps, but with a rapidity that within a few years has been so signally illustrated in Great Britain, Spain, Italy, Russia, Hungary, and other lands. May we not all hope that, by the moral but powerful force of our example, fetters may everywhere be broken; and that some of us may live to see that happy era when slavery and tyranny shall no more be known throughout the world, from the rivers to the end of the earth."

## Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, D. C., March 16th, 1869.

If any additional reason was needed to urge upon the loyal people such earnest agitation and action as would insure early ratification of the 15th article, by the proper constitutional majority, it ought to be the fact that the law by which Tennessee was secured to Emancipation, and Enfranchisement was insured, is now in jeopardy. The last refuge of the Rebellion and its heresies of State's Rights, etc.—the Supreme Court of the United States has upon its docket a case involving the Constitutionality of the Franchise Law of Tennessee. It is greatly feared and with reason too, judging only by the past record of the judicial majority (a very injudicious one, in spite of their position,) that the case will be hurried up and decided upon adversely. The appeal has been so timed as to reach the Supreme Court in time to prevent the State Legislature passing amendments. By the terms of the Constitution this is the last Legislature having power, to pass laws regulating rebel disenfranchisement.

Andrew Johnson of Tennessee hopes to come up again, relying chiefly upon the expected overthrow of the Franchise law, and the combinations now in process, and which it is anticipated will surely consummate and make effective. Johnson is about to begin another struggle for the supremacy of the Southern States Rights idea. His success in Tennessee, of which his friends already boast as certain, would be an inspiriting signal for the re-rallying of all the old forces, which have so long sought to overthrow the Nation. Johnson in Tennessee, Breckenridge in Kentucky, Chase on the Supreme Bench, and all the old astute leaders of oligarchic instincts will rally once more. Said a young Southerner recently in my hearing: "You think we are whipped, eh! Wait till we get on our feet, and one rousing cotton crop will do that, and we'll enter the forum with you, resist your ideas and re-arouse all the glorious pride of race over these mongrel peoples, which your canting Puritanism thinks it has crushed out forever. We'll see, and so will you when the State's Right ball is reopened.'

There is not the slightest doubt that the strongest and surest nail in the coffin of the heresy referred to, is the ratification of the new Constitutional Amendment. It will put beyond peradventure the success of the Republican future, by insuring the franchise to its friends, and better still, placing definitively the power to control the suffrage in the hands of the Legislature.

President Grant is known to watch with great interest the action of the States on the Amendment. He is earnestly and heartily, as I long since stated, in favor of its ratification, believing that it will remove from the body politic a source of weakness which affects the peace, order and financial condition of the country.

There seems to be a strong feeling in favor of action on Judge Edmund's bill with regard to Georgia. There is much uncertainty in regard to the Senate however.

ASMODEUS.

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The New York African Society for Mutual Relief will celebrate their sixtieth anniversary on Tuesday evening, the 23d inst., at Shiloh Church, corner Prince and Marion streets. Addresses by Hon. Horace Greeley, Rev. Charles B. Ray and others.

## Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, March 14th, 1869.

THE course of Sunday afternoon lectures at Horticultural Hall continues to be attractive and prosperous. It was crowded yesterday to hear Rev. O. B. Frothingham, of your city, discourse upon "The Soul's Hunger and Supply," or, as he otherwise phrased it, "The relation between supply and demand in the matter of spiritual faith." He thought a useful lesson was given us in the Old Testament injunction about gathering each day the manna for each day's use, and warned his hearers against trying to get spiritual sustenance from old and spoiled food, instead of gathering, fresh and new, that which the Father each day newly provides for us.

The God of the popular theologans, he said, lived day before yesterday. *Our* God lives now. Revelation waits on the seer, and is always ready for him who will use his eyes. God does not *send* revelation. How can He send anything who is everywhere?

Why should hunger, so much desired in the physical world be dreaded in the realm of spiritual things? Why should discovery be dreaded in religion? The cravings of the soul, surely, need, and rightfully demand satisfaction, not less than those of the body. The great demand of the soul is for reality. The Father of course provides for the satisfaction of this hunger now, not less than in any former time; but they who feed on yesterday's manna do not live to-day's life. That article grows wormy by keeping; and the multitude who choose it for their food do not appear well-fed, and in good health. Their spiritual condition does not praise their diet. A living mind will grow beliefs, as a living tree grows leaves. As illustrations of the fresh manna gathered in successive periods, Mr. Frothingham cited the new ideas taught by St. Paul, St. Carlo Borromeo, Luther, Channing and Theodore Parker, each of whom taught something that would have shocked his predecessors.

At the close of his address, Mr. Frothingham seemed to think that justice required a good word in behalf of a set of people now everywhere spoken against, the Positivists. He had known many of them, even some who are reputed the worst of unbelievers, but he had never found one sad, mournful, despondent, in need of commiseration. They seemed to get more out of the ground than the majority of other people did out of the sky. They were joyous, cheerful, hopeful, their satisfaction was complete, their cup was running over with good. We need not, therefore, spend our time in pitying them; and for ourselves, we may feel free to take the course which shall seem best. What the speaker recommended was, a perfectly natural treatment of the problems of experience as they arise.

The tenth lecture of the course is to be given by Rev. Samuel Johnson of Lynn, who will treat of "The Piety of Panthelism" with illustrations from the highest form of Hindoo philosophy and worship.

I believe I did not say anything of a very good lecture given in Horticultural Hall a week ago, by Mr. Josiah P. Quincy, entitled "The State as an Educator."

Mr. Quincy thought our system of State education not a positive good, though at present a necessary evil. He would have the school studies now consist chiefly of five things, Ethics, Physiology, Reading, Writing and Arithmetic. But the great problem was to get our people to demand exalted moral character, intellectual power, and eminent capacity for instruction in the teacher. The qualifications of teachers in the *Primary* schools he thought of very great importance; and in all the schools he would have teachers of first-class ability, respected and paid as such.

To form a judgment of the practical value of our educational system as now conducted, Mr. Quincy thought it important to examine the schools not only within, but from the outside; and inquire whether the population that came from them were honest or dishonest, high-minded or unscrupulous, moral or immoral, good citizens or bad citizens. The State could not make people virtuous; but it was a direct and obvious part of its duty to remove from the path of the young those obvious and palpable obstructions which interfere with their becoming so. The teacher should be able to exercise a positive ethical influence; and it might be well to have a special functionary in each town charged with supervision of the moral character of the schools, and holding conference, to that end, with the children, their parents, their teachers and their ministers.

Among the things specially needed, Mr. Quincy instanced the teaching of human Physiology in the schools as far as needed to preserve health, the giving of some instruction in regard to the divine laws which govern the family relation, and restraint upon the exhibition and sale of a licentious literature, now paraded, with pictorial illustrations, in our most public places. NORTH.

## Our Philadelphia Correspondence.

PHILADELPHIA, March 15th, 1869.

You will observe that Pennsylvania is likely to be among the foremost States in ratifying the Fifteenth Amendment. The Senate has already acted, giving 18 Republican votes in its favor, to 15 Democratic votes in opposition. The House by resolution has agreed to take up the proposition on Wednesday next, and before this week's STANDARD is issued it is probable that the good act will be consummated. No doubt of favorable action is entertained on the part of the House, as the measure will be approved and opposed by a strictly party vote. It is gratifying to know that the Republicans have a majority. The words of President Grant in behalf of the Amendment have undoubtedly had a salutary influence, and those timely and unequivocal expressions merit our heartiest thanks.

As each day passes many of us anxiously turn to the telegraphic column of the morning papers, to see what additional State legislature has acted upon and ratified the new Amendment, and if the solicitous mind there finds no response, disappointment steals in and punishes us for our impatience. I should think that every legislature would be eager to act, quick to decide, and prompt in announcing a favorable decision. It is so palpably a measure of justice, wisdom and propriety, the triumph of which will give such inexpressible joy and satisfaction to every lover of unfettered liberty throughout the land, that tardiness or hesitation seems to be a marvel. There is good ground for feeling assured that victory is inevitable, but the assurance has not the consoling and satisfying power of the reality. What about Connecticut? Very soon the legislature will be chosen in that State which is to vote upon the Amendment. The value of a single State is so precious, that the utmost endeavor should be made to gain Connecticut. That is the field for work—active, potential, thorough and immediate. Wisely has it been determined that Mr. Simms shall go there, and exert his valuable influence. It seems important that other efficient canvassers should give their aid, and labor vigorously to achieve the right result. Vigilance is essential, and well directed effort the great need now.

The ratification of the Amendment will require the votes of twenty-eight States. It is quite certain that twenty-five will be secured, if we include in the list, Indiana, which has given such a peculiar record, and which should make haste to "wash away her stain." The legislatures of these are all controlled by Republicans, several of them having already accomplished the good deed. The three States needed to complete the full number must come from the following—Connecticut, Ohio, Georgia, Mississippi, Virginia and Texas. It is probable that Georgia can be depended upon, although her attitude is not wholly promising. Ohio will certainly be unwilling to enroll herself on the side of tyranny and injustice. We see how very important it is to gain Connecticut. It may be indispensable.

The seventeenth annual commencement of the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania was held at Concert Hall on Thursday last. There was a large attendance, and the audience seemed to manifest deep interest in the exercises. Judge William S. Peirce, of this city, delivered the address, which embodied many interesting facts pertaining to the institution. The valedictory was delivered by Benjamin B. Wilson, M. D., of the Faculty, Professor of the Principles and Practice of Surgery. The degree of M. D. was conferred upon the following graduates by T. Morris Perot, president of the college:—

Mary H. Stinson, Pennsylvania; Mary Pratt, New Jersey; M. L. Towsley, New York; Eliza Townsend, Ohio; Sarah Taylor, New Jersey; Juliana T. Cox, Ohio; Ann C. Seymour, Canada East; Euthan S. Meade, California; E. L. Conklin, New York; Cynthia Smith, Massachusetts; Clara Swain, New York; Emma C. Ewing, Maryland; H. C. L. Hopkings, New York; W. R. W. Marbourg, Pennsylvania; Eliza F. Petrie, New York.

A peace meeting was held yesterday in a hall on Spring Garden street which was quite well attended. The speakers were Rachel Townsend, Alfred H. Love and Lucretia Mott. The subject of peace was forcibly advocated, and many excellent and impressive remarks were made by these devoted champions of the beautiful principle, of "peace on earth and good will among men." W.

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An industrial school for women and girls is established at 164 Hanover street, and has now five classes, numbering seventy scholars, who are learning dress-making, cutting out under-garments, and receiving instruction in running sewing-machines. The school is open on Tuesday evenings and Saturday afternoons, and is free to all, the teachers giving their services gratuitously. Mrs. Dr. L. S. Batchelder, of 2 Staniford street, is interested in this excellent charity.—*Boston Commonwealth.*

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### *WOMAN SUFFRAGE CONVENTION AT SPRINGFIELD MASS.*

LARGE ATTENDANCE AND ABLE SPEECHES—LUCY STONE, H. B. BLACKWELL, STEPHEN FOSTER AND C. C. BURLEIGH ON THE PLATFORM—SOME OF THE BEST TALK AT THE MEETINGS.

From the Springfield Republican, March 19th.

THE convention called by the New England Woman Suffrage Association, to present the arguments for the proposed reform to the people of Springfield and the river counties, met at 2 p. m., Tuesday afternoon. There was a good attendance, though the "magnificent distances" of the City Hall were by no means crowded. The following list of officers was proposed and accepted: President, Hon. Elphalet Trask; vice-presidents, Dr. Jefferson Church of Springfield and Seth Hunt of Northampton; secretaries, Mrs. Richmond Kingman of Cummington, and F. B. Sanborn of Springfield.

Lieut. Gov. Trask, on taking the chair made a few remarks, and introduced as the first speaker Charles C. Burleigh of Florence, who proceeded to argue the necessity and propriety of women suffrage, from the intrinsic difference between women and men, which made it impossible that one sex should represent the other in political activity. Both are needed, but if either sex is to stay at home and let the other do the governing, it should be men. He thought that women could do the voting and governing for men better than men could for women.

While Mr. Burleigh was speaking it was noticed that Lucy Stone was among the audience, and, in response to the general desire, she was the chief speaker. She is a lady of medium hight, rather stout than slender, with a ruddy color and a gentle, pleasing voice and manner, now and then rising into eloquence. As Mr. Burleigh closed his off-hand but effective remarks, she took the platform, and was received with applause. She began by expressing her gratification that a majority of the audience before her were women; and then proceeded to narrate what has been done during the past year towards the enfranchisement of women; speaking of the organization of the movement by a few women in New Jersey, soon after the close of the war—then of the association formed in Boston last fall, and its meetings at Providence, Concord, etc., the conventions held in Washington, in Chicago, in Missouri, and elsewhere, and the introduction of the question in Congress, and in the Legislatures of Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas, Tennessee, etc. In New Jersey, she said, the State which New England always sneers at, and has some reason to do so—a very significant movement has begun, which has already shown its strength at the polls; the candidates who favored woman suffrage in one county being elected and the opponents of it defeated, though on the same ticket. In Rhode Island, when the matter was first introduced in the Legislature, the petitions were referred to the committee on burial grounds. But this year, the same petitions were referred to the judiciary committee, who reported against suffrage for women in that State, on the ground that where there were ten thousand women only one thousand had petitioned for the right. Although the petitions were not granted, yet it was encouraging to find them taken into serious consideration in so many State Legislatures. And only yesterday, in Congress, the matter was again brought up by Senator Pomeroy, who moved to enfranchise the women of the District of Columbia.

Lucy Stone went on to invite all who oppose the movement to come forward at this convention and promulgate their opposition. But the opposition is fast disappearing. One great argument against it is still used—that women do not wish to vote. But she believed that women did wish to take part in the government, just as she herself had always wished it. But if it is true of many women that they do not care what laws their children are to grow up under, then she could only feel what that verse of Homer expresses, where he says—

"Jove fixed it certain that whatever day
Makes man a slave, takes half his worth away."

Such women were the victims of the institutions which they are too ignorant to seek to change. Waldo Emerson once said in a lecture, "that the apple tree is a very foolish tree, but if you take away from its roots load after load of loam, and put sand in their place, the apple tree will find it out, and will resent it by giving smaller and scantier fruit." So it is with women—if they are slighted or oppressed, they will show it by their condition, if not by their opinions, and their children will be dwindled by the mother's humiliation. In Kansas, where in the days of trial, the women stood so bravely by the men in their fight against slavery the majority of women now call for the suffrage.

The speaker then took notice of the great change already made in the laws regulating the property of married women, and argued from it the speedy triumph of the suffrage movement. In Vineland, New Jersey, lives a woman—Portia Gage—whose two sons went to the war. One of them came home to die from the cruelties of Andersonville. When she had buried the dust of her dead son, and the people about her were saying that the negro soldier had earned a right to vote, Portia Gage said, "If anybody has earned a right to vote, I have," and she took a ballot and walked up to the polls and offered it. The judges of election courteously refused it, because, they said, they could only recognize voters whose names were on the list. Then Mrs. Gage went about among her sisters in Vineland, and her words and her example were so powerful that, at the next election, which was the last presidential one, 171 women went with her to the polls and offered their votes, and when they were refused, they withdrew to another room, and there threw and counted their ballots, of which all but four or five were for Grant. (Applause.) And they gave notice to the men, that in 1872 they would have to count the votes of both sexes together.

Mrs. Stone then read a circular just issued to the women of Vineland advising them to vote at the coming municipal election there, as they did at the presidential election last November; and she added her opinion that they would so continue to vote, till they were legally made voters, She went on to say that in Massachusetts the minority, of men, govern the majority, of women. But women here have every qualification that the law exacts of men in order to become voters. Alluding to the story of Barbara Fretchie, she said, the ballot is now put in the hand of the rebel who shot down her flag, while it is denied to old Barbara who upheld it.

Yet there are those who say that women now have all they want—the best seats in cars and public places, the use of their own property, etc. Mrs. Stone considered this point and showed what were the iniquities of the common law, which is still in force in respect to women, in the District of Columbia, and elsewhere at the South. In Massachusetts the laws have been much improved, but they still impose restrictions of which men ought to be ashamed. No married woman can be the guardian of children, not even of her own, unless she is a widow. In the law of divorce, a discrimination is made against women; so too in the succession of property, a like discrimination is made. In New Jersey the law is still more unjust in its discrimination.

Mrs. Stone said that what disgusted her more than anything else in this discussion was the constant saying of men that women only needed to ask for changes in the law and they would get them. But men ought not to wait to be asked; they put women in the pillory of legal disability, and they ought to take them out without waiting to be asked.

Henry B. Blackwell, the husband of Lucy Stone, spoke next, and considered the objection made, that women do not want to vote. He thought we might be mistaken about the fact. He once knew a very bashful man, named John, who was afraid he should never be married, because he dared not take such a liberty as to ask a woman to marry him. But when, acting under good advice, John did take the liberty of asking, he found that Mary Ann had no sort of objection to it. So he thought women would have no objection to voting if they were properly asked. Mr. Blackwell thought that if women could have voted in Massachusetts, the prohibitory law could never have been repealed. (Applause). He then related how woman suffrage had been legalized in New Jersey in 1776, and how women continued to vote there till early in the present century, in 1808, when the Democratic party, incensed at the loss of the State to Jefferson by the fact that the women voted with the federalists, and getting control of the Legislature, excluded both negroes and women from voting in New Jersey. There was a property qualification attached to woman suffrage in New Jersey, from 1776 to 1808, but it was the same for men, so that there was, in law, an equality of political rights between the two sexes, such as he hoped they would see again, and that before many years. And he predicted that whatever party favored and carried the enfranchisement of woman, would control the State for fifty years. He gave an account of the agitation for woman suffrage in Kansas in 1867, and how it came to be defeated; but when submitted again, without being complicated with the question of negro suffrage, he felt confident it would be carried, not only in Kansas, but in other States of the West.

Mr. Stephen S. Foster was the first speaker at the evening session. He began by reading the following resolution, which he offered for discussion:

*Resolved*, That with a practical faith in the self-evident truth that all men are created equal, and that those governments only are just which rest on the consent of the governed, we claim suffrage for woman as her natural right—a right not less sacred than the right of property or personal freedom; and we affirm that all who intentionally lend their influence to deprive her of the free exercise of that right, are guilty of a crime of the gravest magnitude.

In support of this resolution Mr. Foster went on to argue that, from the premises of natural justice, it necessarily followed that women ought to vote. He pithily said, "My doctrine is, your hands for you, my hands for me—that is equality, and that is the only basis of justice." Expanding this into an argument, he added, that among the rights given by the Creator are three all important ones. The first is the right of property; what a man has earned he has an inherent right to keep. Another is the right to personal freedom. The third is the right of self-defence. Now when we demand the ballot for woman we simply ask for her a means of self-protection. A Republican government is a combination for mutual aid and protection, to which we must either admit woman, or allow her to form another combination for her own protection, unless we mean to take away her right of self-defence by means of that combination called a government. But to do this last is to commit a crime against woman, for it deprives her of the natural right of self-defence; and with this right go those of property and personal freedom. And in this State of Massachusetts, women have no more and no less rights than the slaves at the South used to have. They have no more, and they couldn't have less. And there is no crime against woman that we men of Massachusetts have not committed in times past. Mr. Foster then discoursed upon the horrors of slavery a few years ago, which he charged to the account of masculine government. Returning to the present state of things, he charged that the rights of women are to-day completely ignored in Massachusetts. Men organized as a government send the tax-gatherer to rob women of so much money every year in the form of taxes. This is robbery, because no woman has participated in the laws by which the taxes are imposed.

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

At the opening of the sessions on Wednesday, the following resolutions were submitted by the business committee:

*Resolved*, That the government of Massachusetts will be anti-republican in form and anti-democratic in fact so long as more than one-half of her citizens are excluded from the polls on account of sex.

*Resolved*, That by withholding the ballot from woman, we convert one sex into tyrants and the other into vassals, and thereby degrade and demoralize both, and inevitably introduce disorder and corruption into all the relations of life.

*Resolved*, That woman needs the ballot in order to secure equal advantageous compensation, education, and opportunity, and in order to exert her peculiar and legitimate influence upon the customs and institutions of society.

*Resolved*, That the State needs the participation of woman in its sovereignty, that it may secure the full measure of the intellect and conscience of its citizens in public affairs.

*Resolved*, That, "a government of the people, by the people, for the people," must be a government equally composed of men and women, that the highest interests of all will be thereby promoted, that the co-operation of man and woman is alike essential to a happy home, a refined society, a Christian church, and a republican State.

*Resolved*, That we earnestly request the Legislature to submit to the people of Massachusetts an amendment to the State constitution striking out the word "male," so as to extend suffrage to women on the same terms and qualifications as men.

*Resolved*, That we call upon the Senators and representatives of Massachusetts to urge Congress without delay to submit an amendment to the United States constitution prohibiting all civil and political distinctions on account of sex.

*Resolved*, That as this movement for woman suffrage is a struggle of human rights with arbitrary power, for the triumph of liberty and equality over the rule of despotism and monopoly, we rejoice at every fresh instance of an extension of the ballot, whether it be to the down-trodden millions of the old world, or to the colored men of our own country.

*Resolved*, That as "the organizer of justice is the most sagacious statesmen," we regard with unspeakable regret the failure of the Fortieth Congress to submit a Constitutional Amendment securing suffrage to women; nevertheless we recommend to the friends of woman suffrage everywhere to urge upon their respective State Legislatures the immediate ratification of the proposed Constitutional Amendment securing manhood suffrage, as a direct and important step towards the broader and more statesmanlike measure of universal suffrage for all citizens, both men and women.

*Resolved*, That as the funds of the commonwealth are raised by a tax, resting equally on all classes of citizens, women as well as men, it is manifestly unjust to employ those funds to educate boys to the exclusion of girls, or to endow any literary institution the advantages of which are not open impartially to all.

*Resolved*, That we earnestly request our State Legislature *not* to grant the petition of Amherst college for State aid, until its doors shall be open on equal terms to the sons and daughters of the State.

*Resolved*, That we ask the Legislature to provide by law that wages shall be hereafter adjusted for all public services according to the value or the service rendered, without regard to sex.

The day and evening were occupied in discussing these resolutions, and a great many persons took part in the debate. Among these were Rev. Dr. Ide, Rev. Mr. Potter and Rev. Mr. Nye of Springfield, Rev. Mr. Stebbens of Chicopee, and Rev. Mr. Stratton of Worcester. Mrs. C. M. Barney, Mrs. Vibbard, Mrs. Campbell and Mrs. Coleman, of Springfield. The regular speakers, Mrs. Stone and Mr. Blackwell, and Messrs. Foster and Burleigh of course participated freely in the debate, which at times became lively, not to say personal.

Mr. Blackwell said that notwithstanding the conservative attitude of the Roman Catholic Church on general questions, he knew leading clergymen of that church, and even a bishop—Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati, who are open advocates of suffrage for women. So too, with Episcopal clergymen; he knew some who were ready to head petitions for woman suffrage. In Kansas the old school Presbyterian clergymen were the most cordial supporters of the reform. These things he mentioned to show that clergymen need not fear to stand alone in advocating the claims of women to be voters. He then spoke of the great practical argument in favor of woman suffrage—the effect it would have on the wages of woman's labor. John Neal used to say that the ballot was worth to every laboring man in America at least fifty cents a day in gold. It would be worth quite as much to the American woman. What is the great cause of prostitution? It is a supposed necessity which women are under to maintain themselves better than they can do with the wages of honest labor; for these wages are often so low, that prostitution presents itself as a resource against starvation. A thousand other evils spring from low wages. He then spoke of the common fallacy that married women are supported by their husbands. The work of a married woman is quite as necessary to the support of a family as the labor of her husband. How long could he work without his three meals a day? And how long could he work if he had to get them himself? Why he had some experiences of that kind himself, last summer on Martha's Vineyard. He went there to the camp ground near Holmes's Hole and hired a cottage for himself and his aged mother, and not being able to get help at first, he had done all the work himself for ten days—got the meals, boiled the teakettle, set the table, made the beds, and done all the housework—and he never worked so hard in his life. He thought he should die under it. (Lucy Stone, who sat near him here said in an undertone. "Yes, and there were only two of you after all.") Men did not always appreciate the labors of their wives; a married woman in nine cases out of ten did as much to support the family by her toil as her husband did, to say nothing of the rearing of children. He agreed with Mr. Foster, that suffrage was a natural right of women, as well as of men; but there were many who did not believe this, and who yet advocated women suffrage because it was expedient, not only for women but for men, that they should vote. Their influence would be strongly felt in the management of affairs, and it would be a good influence. Wars would be far less common if women had a share in the government, for it is well-known that women are more peaceable than men. Would women send John Morrissey to Congress? Women are more chaste than men, more temperate, and their influence would be in favor of moral purity. Whoever wants peace, temperance and good morals favored by government, should go for woman suffrage. Here in Massachusetts, the best way to re-establish prohibition is not to re-enact the Maine law, and stop there but to give women the ballot, and she would take care that good laws were passed on the temperance question.

In the afternoon, upon repeated calls, Rev. Mr. Nye came forward and spoke. He said that he came to the meeting to hear, rather than to speak. The friends of the movement in their anxiety to draw out opposition, reminded him of the Irishman at Donnybrook fair, who cried out, "Nine o'clock in the morning and no fight yet! Won't somebody have the goodness to tread on me coat." But he did not mean to please Mr. Foster so much as to oppose him. He did think, however, that too many subjects had been discussed in this convention; some that had no connection with the suffrage of woman. One is the question of wages. The wages of women had nothing to do with the laws of the State; they are determined by the laws of the universe, and no matter who may have the right of voting and law-making, wages will be determined by the rule of demand and supply. With regard to the right of voting, Mr. Nye would ask men whence they derived their right, and whether women did not draw a similar right from the same source. There would be some practical difficulties in giving them the ballot. He would not like, for instance, to see his wife voting against him.

Mr. Foster—I should.

Mr. Nye—That is the difference between Mr. Foster and myself. He is so fond of a quarrel that if nobody else is convenient, he will quarrel with his own family.

Mr. Foster—Of course I would rather my wife should vote as I do; but I would ten times rather she would vote the other way, than not vote at all.

Mr. Nye then went on to say that he believed in woman's rights—in her right to preach, for one thing. He had assisted at the ordination of Mrs. Hanaford, who he was sorry not to see present at this meeting, and he was glad that she and other good women were in the pulpit. He believed too, in woman's right to vote, but he did not expect everything good to result from her voting.

In closing, Lucy Stone recapitulated the objections to woman suffrage. She pointed out the shameful disfranchisement and oppression to which women are subjected in the United States, and spoke with indignant eloquence, as one who felt all that she expressed, of the political category of women, in which they are classed with fools, felons, lunatics, and the worst of rebels. In listening to Wendell Phillips, describing the oppression of the Irish Catholics for whom O'Connell stood Champion, she had thought that American women have to endure all that and more. How will it look to see women vote? How does it look to see a woman pay her taxes? But some say that women could not go to the polls without being insulted. For her part, Mrs. Stone did not believe it. She went to the polls herself last November, and nobody insulted her though her vote was not received. But if the polls for men are so bad, there might be separate rooms for the voting of women, only they would be so attractive to the best of the men, that presently only the scamps would be left in the men's voting-room. Again, we are told that when women vote differently from their husbands, domestic tranquility will be destroyed. She did not believe it. She had often noticed at elections the way in which men go to work to win a vote they want. Do they ever fight with a man whose vote they want? Oh no! Our gentleman goes up to the poor man with the blandest manner, and says: "Good morning. How is your wife? I hope your children are well,"—and the poor man, who was never spoken to by such a gentleman before, and won't be again till the next election—but he don't know that—is quite overcome by his kindness, and votes his ticket. So it will be with husbands who want their wives' votes, and wives who want their husbands' votes; they will solicit them in the blandest manner, the husband promising new gowns and tickets to the opera, and the wives providing nice steaks and coffee, warm slippers and faultless linen. Nor will women neglect their domestic duties by voting. If they can leave their children's cradles long enough to go to church, or to the theatre, so they can to cast their votes.

Women may vote, even though they do not fight. There is no objection to woman suffrage so cowardly as this, that because they cannot bear arms they shall not carry a ballot. As was so well said by Curtis at Albany, no man ought to forget that whenever a soldier is born, some woman's life is imperilled; that a woman must be commissary and quartermaster for the little warrior until he can gather his own rations; and that she is on picket duty day and night for his protection. Besides all this must she shoot somebody before she can vote? But, it is said, the bad women will vote. The speaker hoped they would, just as the bad men now do. But the good women will vote too, and their votes will supply a much needed element in our political life. "I verily believe," said Mrs. Stone, "that there is no other name under heaven by which this country can be saved politically, except the name of woman; not because women are better than men—I do not believe they are—but because their influence is needed to counter-balance that of men."

At the close of her speech, Mrs. Stone moved that this convention protest against any appropriation of money by the State in aid of either of the colleges at Amherst, until they shall receive as students both sexes on equal terms. Mr. Foster seconded the motion, which, on motion of Mr. F. B. Sanborn, was so amended as to include all institutions of learning that may ask for State aid, and was passed by a vote almost unanimous. Pending the question on this motion, an irregular debate sprung up between Messrs. Foster, Sanborn and Burleigh on the natural right of men and women to vote; Mr. Sanborn having casually expressed his opinion that suffrage was not so much a right as a trust, and not a natual right at all, as Mr. Foster had maintained. After the passage of the motion the convention adjourned.

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### *LITERARY.*

Messrs. Fields, Osgood & Co., offer an extended and a very attractive list of publications for their special spring sale. The list includes books by Dickens, Emerson, Whittier, Longfellow, Mrs. Child, Higginson, Lowell, Mrs. Howe, Tennyson, Charles Reade, Hawthorne, Gail Hamilton, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and others. They also announce, to appear early in April, *The Ingham Papers*, by Edward Everett Hale; *Poems, Lyric and Idyllic*, one volume, by E. C. Steadman; also *Alice of Monmouth, an Idyl of the Great War, and other poems*, one volume by the same author; *Vacation Adventures in the Wilderness; or Camp-Life in the Adirondacks*. With 8 illustrations. By Rev. W. H. H. Murray. 1 vol. 16mo.; *The Diary and Correspondence of Henry Crabb Robinson*. From Advance Sheets. 1 vol. 12mo.; *Two Years before the Mast*. By Richard H. Dana, Jr. New and enlarged edition. 1 vol. 16mo.; *On the Wing. A Book for Young Sportsmen*. Richly illustrated. 1 vol. 16mo.; *Recreations of a Country Parson*. 2 vols. 16mo. They will issue May 8th. *Our New Way Round the World*. By C. C. Coffin ("Carleton"). Profusely illustrated. 1 vol. Crown 8vo.; *Men, Women, and Ghosts*. By Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Author of "The Gates Ajar." 1 vol. 16mo.; *Oldtown Folks*. By Harriet Beecher Stowe. An entirely new novel. 1 vol. 12mo. Nearly 600 pp.; and *Malbone: An Oldport Romance*. By Thomas Wentworth Higginson. 1 vol. 16mo.

*How to Read Character* is the title of a new illustrated hand-book of Phrenology and Physiology for students and examiners, accompanied by a descriptive chart, recently issued in a handsomely bound volume of one hundred and ninety-one pages, by S. R. Wells, 389 Broadway. One who wishes to get a practical knowledge of Phrenology and Physiognomy in the shortest possible time, and without burdening his mind with theoretical speculations, will find this just the work he needs. So far as any book can give him the instruction he requires, this will do it: and so clear are its explanations, and so full, complete, and effective its illustrations, that the lack of an oral teacher will seem but a slight drawback. A full Descriptive Chart for the marking of character is added. The work is thorough, methodical, carefully considered in every part; and at the same time simple, concise, popular in style, and adapted to the comprehension of everybody who can read the English language.

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*Some Thoughts Concerning Education*, by John Locke, is the first volume of a series entitled "Library of Education," selected from the best writers of all countries, to be issued by Messrs. J. W. Schermerhorn & Co., of this city, publishers of the *American Educational Monthly*. The series will include the writings of the following, and other well-known authors: John Stuart Mill, Bacon, Milton, Carlyle, Dr. Channing, Fenelon, Richter, Franklin, and Horace Mann. Each volume of the series will be uniform in size and style, bound in paper, and furnished at the very low rate of fifteen cents per volume.

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The heirs of Noah Webster receive twenty-five thousand dollars annually from the sale of his Dictionary. Harper & Brothers pay Marcius Wilson an annual copyright of sixteen thousand dollars; and the same house has paid Anthon, Barnes, Robinson, Abbott, Motley and Prescott, or heirs, upwards of fifty thousand dollars each, copyright on their works. Charles Scribner & Co. paid Headley fifty thousand dollars prior to 1859, and to Dr. Holland they have paid a larger amount. Hurd & Houghton still pay a copyright of four thousand dollars on Cooper's works.

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Goldwin Smith's historical lectures at Cornell University will be published regularly in the *Atlantic*. His recent address at Albany, which attracted more attention than any of the other papers read at the social science meetings there, will soon be published by the association in the first number of its journal.

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*A House of Cards*, a new, and very interesting story by Mrs. Cashel Hoey, first published in this country in *Littell's Living Age*, has recently been issued in a neatly printed pamphet of one hundred and eighty-nine pages, by Messrs. Littell and Gay, Boston.

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Thomas Carlyle is publishing a library edition of his works. He is one of the few popular authors who have been so fortunate as to retain the property of their works in their own hands. The first volume, "Sartor Resartus," has already appeared.

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John Stuart Mill has edited a new edition of "Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind," a work by his father, John Mill, which has been some time out of print. Alexander Bain, George Grote and others, contribute notes to it.

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RECEIVED.

PRE-HISTORIC NATIONS; or, Inquiries concerning some of the great peoples and civilizations of Antiquity, and their probable relation to a still older civilization of the Ethiopians or Cushites of Arabia. By John D. Baldwin, A. M. 403 pp. New York: Harper & Brothers.

HOW TO READ CHARACTER. 191 pp. New York: Samuel R. Wells.

HANDY-VOLUME SERIES. No III. PLANCHETTE: or, the Despair of Science. 404 pp. Boston: Robert's Brothers.

HISTORY OF A THREEPENNY BIT. 216 pp. New York: National Temperance Society and Publication House.

VILLA EDEN: The Country-House on the Rhine. By Berthold Auerbach. Translated by Charles C. Shackford. Part I. 153 pp. Boston: Robert's Brothers.

HE KNEW HE WAS RIGHT. By Anthony Trollope. With illustrations by Marcus

# Miscellaneous Department.

## ONLY SEVEN.

HERE's the place; and full four inches depth of snow—
He below;
And the headstone reads, unpityingly, "Aged seven."
O, sweet heaven!
Is he here, the boy we loved but could not hold?
Hopes untold
Centred with him; yet he lies, to-day, below,
'Neath the snow.

"Only seven" when roses blossomed—when they died,
Naught beside
Had we but a little, oblong, snowy mound
Of cold ground.
Here it is; the pine-trees over green and fair
Fill the air
With a gentle murmur, sad and very low,
While below,
Near the headstone's base, a frozen sweet-fern spray
Sways all day
Back and forth, while chill November breezes blow,
And the snow
Covers all his favorite hill-sides where it grew
In the dew,
Sweet-fern—"hill-side heather"—well he loved it; so
Let it grow
On the little mound that marks his lengthened rest.

Down the west
Sinks the cold November sun, in gloomy red,
And he dead!
Only seven, you see, and all his duties done,
And heaven won—
All life's care, and hurt, and heartache, as a breath
Lost in death.
All life's faith and fearless, high endeavor, fame,
Noble name,
Kindly deeds, and high-browed honor buried here.

Year by year
Valiant warriors, in the great world's busy strife,
Full of life,
Winning victories, winning laurels fresh and fair,
Spirits rare,
Such as he who, only seven, lies sleeping here,
Year by year,
These will come and go and make life grand and high;
God knows why—
Ah, not we—that out of all the surging tide
He stepped aside
Into quiet so profound before his time.
Not a rhyme
Of the lyric labor shall he ever sing—
Never bring
Any hard-won guerdon, rare reward of life,
Out of strife—
None of these for him who goes to sleep at seven.

O, kind heaven!
Here he lies—we loved him—and we leave him here;
Some bright sphere
Shall make room, we know, to take our wanderer in.
He shall win
Otherwhere what God had meant for him; and so,
While the snow
Beats and blows about his little grave, we'll say,
"Far away
Safe and strong, his life's goes on at God's behest—
And God knows best."

[For the Standard].

## CHINA AND ITS REBELLIONS.

BY RICHARD J. HINTON.

[First Paper].

IN a recent number of *The Friend of China*, a semi-weekly English paper published at Shanghai, there is an article unfriendly in tone and evidently unfair in spirit toward the embassy recently in this country, which, however, contains some interesting points. The real aim of the article is to prove that the Embassy had for its chief purpose, on the part of its "celestial" members and the Government they represent, the gaining of such sufficient foreign aid, (American is meant) as will enable the Tartar-Manchu family, at present occupying the imperial seat of "the Son of Heaven," to maintain itself against the fast rising determination of the Chinese proper to rid themselves of a hated domination. The animus of the article is so unmistakably of the brutal British order, that a disinterested reader takes its statements with many grains of allowance.

It cites the hatred of the Banner men—*Ke-has*, troops of Tartar origin, who are trained to defend the regnant dynasty, and who besides being the chief residents and guards of the Imperial portion of Pekin—a city by itself—serve always as the garrisons of every provincial capital, and are the body-guards of the *Tseang Kun* or local commanders-in-chief. A man of pure Chinese birth may be eligible for every office under the Empire, but the one named above. He is an individual apart from the main body of the people, and like all such exceptional and privileged persons is hated by the communities in which he exercises power, or claims to do so—the power being often more nominal than real. For instance it is stated that when the English and French troops took Canton in 1856, capturing *Yeh*, the Chinese viceroy, and making *Peh*, the Manchu Deputy Governor in his place, they found the *Tseang Kun* living on a pittance barely sufficient for support, and subjected to the daily insults of the Chinese officials and their country men. Yet he was the Emperor's direct representative. The statement does not argue a remarkable degree of attachment to the Manchu officials. Perhaps there may be some explanation other than a rising spirit of resistance to an hated dynasty, which certainly must have had extraordinary wisdom or great power, to have maintained itself, a comparatively small portion of a nation whose numbers are counted by the hundred millions, for the centuries during which the present Imperial family has held sway? There may be local reasons for the excessive hostility manifested by the Cantonese. There is abundant proof of a bitter spirit of jealousy exhibited by the Chinese of the Southern, toward the people of the Northern provinces. It is also of record that the Southern Chinese are much more hostile to foreigners than their compatriots further North. Probably that is owing to the longer relations they have had with the overbearing English traders.

It is declared that another complaint made by the Chinese proper, is at favoritism shown in Pekin to Manchu scholars over those of Chinese birth; also, at the undue proportion of high Tarter officials immediately surrounding the Court and Emperor. The article from which these charges are obtained closes with the following reference to changes going on and a custom which we "outside barbarians" commonly suppose to be one of their indigenous peculiarities, and not as herein represented, a mark of degradation imposed upon a conquered people by the victors, and still maintained to the continued disgust of the former:

"To a great extent the Manchus have had to succumb to the opposition of the Chinese. An instance of this may be seen by taking the Red book of a quarter of a century ago, comparing it with the Annual Register of the present day, and marking the disproportion in office holding! In former days all the richer posts, and especially that of Superintendent of Customs in a Province, were held by blood relations of the Emperor—now, we find such offices filled, in the majority, by officers of Chinese birth and anti Manchu proclivity. Indeed we could go on with instances innumerable to show that Manchu regnancy, though silently acquiesced in—acquiesced in from fear of the consequences resultant on revolt—is inimical to Chinese of all grades—*their badges of slavery, the shaven head and plaited tail, being hard to endure*, though borne so long."

There are in China about ten million officials, local, provincial and imperial. Of these less than one-third are of Tartar origin. This is probably largely in excess of the population of that character, on account of the dynasty seeking wherever possible to place in position those upon on whose fidelity it can implicitly rely. In nearly all high positions the chiefs are double—one Tartar and one Chinaman. In the Burlingame Embassy this rule is followed; *Chih*, the senior Mandarin being a Manchu Tartar. Where two officials of the same grade are thus associated and one is a Tartar, he thereby takes precedence. There can be little doubt that these distinctions are galling to the higher order of Chinese. They most certainly will prove to be with that open intercourse with all the world which the present policy inaugurates; unwise and transitory.

With the great river Yang-tze, paralleled in length and volume of navigable waters only by our own Mississippi, already navigated for 600 miles by American modelled steamboats, largely owned and chiefly officered by Americans; with an American-made telegraphic cable soon to be connecting the fourteen treaty ports and bearing over its nine hundred miles the business patronage of the ten millions of people who live in the seaports, with the speedy prospect of a system of land telegraphy being inaugurated, and railroads opening vast interiors to the sea and consequently to the world; with the growth of the great university already begun at Pekin; with the Bible circulating freely in Chinese translations; (the Methodist missionary press at Foo-chow is now printing in Chinese a New Testament Commentary, with the American Declaration of Indpendence translated into Chinese and circulated with great freedom among the literary class, as Mr. I. J. Allen our Consul at Hong Kong, informs us in a recent letter is the case; with these and many more startling innovations and novelities, which must necessarily follow in their trains, it is not to be supposed, that in despite of all the apparently organic, ingrained conservatism of this peculiar people, marks of conquest like shaved heads and sacred queues, or the more serious ones of balancing high office by a double dose of Tartar and Chinese, can be continued for a great many years longer.

There has been in our day one outburst, so dangerous to the present dynasty, as to make the last Emperor a fugitive and overthrow the long established foreign policy of his great Empire. It is undoubtedly to the recent Tae-ping rebellion that we owe, indirectly at least, the Burlingame Embassay and the adoption by China of the international code of Europe and America. So striking a change makes worth while an inquiry into the great Asiatic rebellion and others still in progress within the domains of our trans-Pacific ally and neighbor.

It is now fourteen or fifteen years since the Tae-ping rebellion begun. It continued with vigor for ten years, and the remnants of it are still threatening the stability of the Imperial dynasty and destroying the peace of communities, which otherwise might have walked their unvarying round of life for centuries to come, as they have done for centuries gone. There can be no doubt that to this wonderful convulsion in the "Flowery Kingdom," is directly due the present melting away of the barriers which have divided the "peculiar people" from "outside barbarians." Very little is known of the real origin of the movement, not much is known of its earlier stages, and the facts with regard to its decline and defeat, are, though more abundant, still very meagre.

It appears to have begun in one of the provinces West of Shanghai, through which the "silent river" or Yang-tze-Kiang runs. The leader of it was a young and poor Chinese scholar, a man of undoubted genuis, as must be evident from the fact that within a few years after attaining manhood he became the recognized head of one hundred millions of people. He appears to have been unjustly used in the competitive examination, being defeated by a rich Manchu student, who bought his scholarship or was believed to have done so. The Chinese theory of competitive scholarship, as the only road to official position is something in practice like the idea that statesmanship is the only road by which political honors are won in America. In the first case quite as often as the latter, money has a much more potent influence than ability and learning.

The "Tae-ping" is declared to have sworn vengance against the Manchus. He seems even then to have been a "dreamer of dreams"—a believer in visions. From defeat in school he must have gone to one of the treaty ports where English missionaries were stationed There he read the Bible so far as translated into Chinese, and appears to have been so strongly affected by the characters and careers of Moses and Jesus—in the sense of their being deliverers of a people in bondage, as to have at once conceived himself called to a similar mission. He returned to his native village, to find it in angry disorder over some outrageous acts of oppression perpetrated by a Tarter Mandarin. Here was his opportunity.

The Chinese peasants, aroused by his passion and purpose and inflamed by recent wrongs, followed him to the provincial or district city where the oppressive official was stationed. The country rose as his rude army marched. Unarmed as they were, the rebels defeated the local *Tseang Kun* with great slaughter, obtaining arms from their defeated enemies, and means from the plunder of the local treasuries; the rebels increased in numbers and the rebellion spread with an astounding rapidity. In an incredibly short time the poor scholar found himself at Nan-Kin the ancient Capital of China, and for centuries the seat of government of the Chinese dynasty overthrown by the founder of the present Imperial family. The *Tae-ping* controlled one-fourth of the Chinese population, and counted eight Kings or generals under him. These leaders were of the peasantry—two of them having even been coolies. They are credited with being able rulers and capable military leaders. The "Tae-ping" himself was a failure. He remained several years in Nan-kin, not pushing his successes to their full results, and gradually allowing opportunities he had opened for himself and people, to slip from his hands. In truth he appears to have become a mere visionary—a mystical madman, intoxicated by the greatness he had achieved, utterly unable to consolidate and make it permanent, and at the end only a stumbling block in the way of those whose fortunes were identified with his own.

When the rebellion begun, it was extensively believed to be in some way connected with a movement for the establishment of Christianity. The rebel chief had obtained some knowledge of its precepts, was infatuated with the idea that he too, was a "son of God" like Jesus, or at least a prophet and leader like unto Moses. But it was soon seen that but little hope of any beneficial results in that direction existed. The English and French at first leaned, the former especially, to the side of the Tae-ping, but the fanatical hostility to the foreigner early developed among the rebel masses, and, the ruthless devastation they carried wherever they operated, soon changed this into active hostility. That in its turn was fomented by the necessity, through the imbecility and powerlessness of the Imperial government to afford defence, of protecting the foreign communities which have grown up at the different treaty posts. It was the resistance the foreign forces were compelled to make, that really gave the first important check to the Tae-ping rebellion under the checks thus administered and the Imperial forces organized, equipped etc., in European fashion, by English, American, and French officers, the rebellion begun to break and finally succumbed. The rebel Emperor was killed in 1864, and since the movement has broken into a number of fragments each formidable enough in itself, conducted with respectable ability to overthrow an ordinary nation and government. But these broken bands are being subdued and still further divided, until at the present moment they are in reality but marauding forces living by plunder and without much political significance.

A very curious incident was related to the writer recently by a gentleman of undoubted veracity, who in the outset of the remarkable spiritualistic movement that begun in America some twenty years ago, was a prominent actor in, or rather investigator thereof. It was several months before the news reached here of the breaking out of the Chinese rebellion, that he was asked to call at the house of a friend and see a medium claiming to be controlled by the spirit of a Chinese scholar. The medium used to talk in what purported to be Chinese, and to write in the same language. It is certain that the characters employed were of the form used by the Celestials. The communications were also written in English; in them the claim was made that the influence emanated from a recently martyred scholar, who residing in an interior province of China, had become prominently identified with a movement like that progressing at the time in this country. The Budhists priests had excited great hostility to the Chinese table tippers and mediums, and through them popular tumult had arisen. It was affirmed that the influencing spirit had been killed by the authorities, and out of the act a great rebellion had commenced, which the communications declared would ultimately result in changing the then form of government, and open China to the world. The statement thus made impressed itself upon my friend's memory, because within two months the news of the rebellion arrived, and within the next twelve months reports were received of the claims made by the rebel chieftain of being directed by visions and communications from the "Land of the Hereafter,"

This incident is mentioned only from its strangeness. It was recorded and commented on in the periodical press connected with spiritualism at the time.

The most remarkable thing in the rebellion was the astounding proportions to which it grew with such startling rapidity. It shows that China was honey-combed with disaffection, and proves that if the Tae-ping leaders had been men enough for the emergency they might have reconstructed China with comparative facility. These facts and others go to prove that which most British authorities on Chinese affairs affirm—that the Empire is really falling to pieces. In fact it would seem as if its administrative system was infected with the "dry-rot." Yet a careful study of the events preceding and leading to the Burlingame mission would indicate on the other hand that there is not only enough vitality left, but sufficient sagacity, also, to prepare the way for the changes which must be achieved in order to preserve the autonomy of China and enable it to grow and flourish in the altered conditions it finds surrounding the eldest Empire of the world.

## WAITING FOR THE SPRING.

As breezes stir the morning
A silence reigns in air;
Steel blue the heavens above me,
Moveless the trees and bare;
Yet unto me the stillness
This burden seems to bring—
"Patience! the earth is waiting,
Waiting for the spring."

Strong ash and sturdy chestnut
Rough oak and poplar high,
Stretch out their sapless branches
Against the wintry sky.
Even the guilty aspen
Hath ceased her quivering,
As though she too were waiting,
Waiting for the spring.

I strain mine ears to listen,
If haply where I stand
But one stray note of music
May sound in all the land.
"Why art thou mute, O blackbird?
O thrush, why dost not sing?
Ah! surely thou art waiting,
Waiting for the spring."

O heart! thy days are darksome;
O heart! thy nights are drear:
But soon shall streams of sunshine
Proclaim the turning year.
Soon shall the trees be leafy,
Soon every bird shall sing;
Let them be silent waiting,
Waiting for the spring.

—*Once a Week.*

A PARISIAN APPARTEMENT.—To those Americans who have never been to Paris, it may no doubt seem a curious thing that rich people should live together in what we call, even at its best, a tenement-house—that is to say, on separate floors. Nevertheless, the system is an excellent one, and far preferable to the life in hotels and boarding-houses which is so common in this country in the large cities. A parlor, a dining-room, four or five bedrooms, a kitchen, and servant's room may easily be obtained in Paris at almost any rent desired—subject, of course, to such considerations as the elegance of the *appartement*, the location of the house, and the location of the suite of rooms *in* the house.

The floors are complete in all their appointments; and thus the strictest privacy is insured. Indeed, so free are the Parisians from the prying eyes of their co-lodgers, that it is possible to live twenty years in a house and never meet a single occupant of it, except, perhaps, on the staircase (common ground), where a slight bow passes—even between utter strangers.

For my own part, I sincerely wish the prejudice, in our country, against these houses could be removed, and that the abominable system of boarding-houses might be broken up—a system which is directly conducive of idle habits, gossiping, and other evils even greater.

In Paris, only a few a very few families, occupy houses to themselves. Those who do, live for the most part in the Faubourg Saint-Germain, the quarter aristocratic *par excellence* of the gay city. These the noble families who look upon the present Emperor as a vile *parvenu*.—*Putnam's Magazine.*

THE religion which performs on Sunday and never gets out of the meeting-house, is one of the most useless things we know of. It is easy for men to get together and warm into happy feeling, and talk of Millennium, and pray for the "conversion of sinners" but to go out of church and be just, and defend Christ, and be poor for principle, and war with whiskey and pride, and reprove the impudence of money, and stoop down in love to the despised and offcast, and refuse submission to the tyranny and encroachment of sect and party—to do these things takes marrow and costs blood. And these are the things Christ did.—*Christian Radical.*

## "I HOLD STILL."

FROM THE GERMAN OF STURM.

PAIN's furnace heat within me quivers,
God's breath upon the flame doth blow,
And all my heart in anguish shivers,
And trembles at the fiery glow;
And yet I whisper, "as God will!"
And in its hottest fire hold still.

He comes and lays my heart, all heated,
On the hard anvil, minded so
Into his own fair shape to beat it
With his great hammer, blow on blow,
And yet I whisper, "as God will!"
And at his heaviest blows hold still.

He takes my softened heart and beats it;
The sparks fly off at every blow;
He turns it o'er and o'er, and heats it,
And lets it cool, and makes it glow;
And yet I whisper, "as God will!"
And in his mighty hand hold still.

Why should I murmur? for the sorrow
Thus only longer-lived would be;
Its end may come, and will to-morrow,
When God has done his work in me;
Lo, I say trusting, "as God will!"
And trusting to the end, hold still.

He kindles for my profit purely,
Affliction's glowing fiery brand,
And all his heaviest blows are surely
Inflicted by a Master hand;
Lo, I say, praying, "as God will!"
And hope in Him, and suffer still.

ENGLISH CATHEDRALS AND CLERGY.—Dr. Alford, the Dean of Canterbury, has recently declared that the whole cathedral system of England is falling between two incompatible theories; the first, that they are to be great centres of life to the diocese; the second, that they are to be places of dignified repose for men who have deserved well of the Church. The latter has been for generations the theory acted upon. Their vast revenues are now generally devoted to maintaining the luxury and comfort of a perhaps worthy but probably moribund ecclesiastic, who is prevented by age from doing anything, and so lies in state, as it were, and dies by degrees before the mouldering altar: while all around is a needy clergy who can only give their left hand to parish work, the right being absorbed in the work of keeping the wolf from the parsonage door. Pitiable indeed are many of the poor country clergy of England. Under the cathedral walls they and their families are often in want; nay, they starve intellectually too, in sight of the often unused library and leisure of their bishop's palace, and are the easy prey of Ritualism or any other superstition. The cathedral is thus a centre of isolation and jealousy; so that Dean Alford "must with pain confess that eleven years experience has not removed, but has rather strengthened, the impression of former days, that the present influence, as a whole, of a great cathedral in a town is rather for evil than for good." One thing is certain, in this day, when the English people are entering into political and intellectual heritages so long withheld from them, any institution that can not undergo the general transformation and adapt itself to the new age, will have at its doors a sterner spirit than that of Cromwell when he melted and coined the silver images of the apostles, so that they might leave an idle altar to "go about like their Master, doing good."—M. D. Conway, in *Harper's Magazine.*

THE APPRENTICES' LIBRARY OF PHILADELPHIA.—The Apprentices' Library is lodged in an old historic building at the corner of Fifth and (now called) Arch streets, in the north wall of which is set a marble slab bearing this quaint legend:

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FOR THE
FREE QUAKERS.
ERECTED IN THE YEAR
OF OUR LORD 1783
OF THE EMPIRE. 8.

The founders of the building were originally members of the Society of Friends, from which they became separated by taking part in the war of the Revolution. When the war was ended, they formed a religious society, and erected the present library building for a meeting-house. There they assembled after the manner of their sect, but Time, gently covering old wrongs and bitternesses, obliterated their misdeeds against the Spirit of Peace, and either they or they children were taken back at last into the old beloved fold, and then the building fell into disuse, and afterward into the possession of the library. But the galleries where the ministers and elders sat, and the massive benches for the rest of these grim, old fighting Quakers, are still preserved with very loving care.—L. Clark Davis, in *March No. of Lippincott's Magazine.*

"I slept, and dreamed that Life was Beauty—
I waked, and found that Life was Duty.
Was then thy dream a shadowy lie?
Toil on, sad heart, courageously,
And thou shalt find that dream to be
A noonday light and truth to thee."

ELLEN HOOPER.

—*Dial, July*, 1840.

ANECDOTE OF SIDNEY SMITH.—It was at this same dinner (at the Foundling Hospital) that the great wit met with a retort that he was never tired of referring to afterward. He had been conversing, in the half-bantering manner in which he was inimitable, with his *vis-a-vis* at the table, a Swiss gentleman of education connected with his country's embassy at the Court of St. James, upon the relative merits of Swiss and English soldiers, and urged the superiority of the latter, inasmuch as *they* fought for *honor*, while the Swiss fought for *money*. "The fact is," answered the Swiss gentleman, "*we each of us fight for what each most wants.*"—*Lippincott's Magazine for March.*

Mothers—

"There is a special work marked out for you;
It may be of the lowest kind; it may
Be such as shall the loftiest powers display,
But none beside yourself your work can do."

MR. WEMYSS was one night performing the part of Charles Surface, with which he was perfectly familiar, having "done" it frequently, and, in a certain scene in the fourth act, suddenly forgot every syllable. The words faded from him like a dream in an instant. He sat down, and was unable to take up the cue, although the prompter gave him three or four successive speeches. At last his recollection revived with a flash, and he finished the role as usual. Ever after, however, in this scene he was excessively nervous, and only by the strongest effort could he get over the words in which he had so strangely tripped before.—*Actor's Memories*, in *March No. Lippincott's Magazine.*


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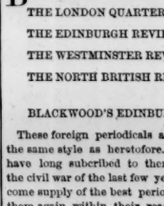


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"I have the honor to inform you that a MEDAL has been awarded to you, by the Assembly of Delegates at the Distinguished Seance of the 31st of August, 1867—for the services which you have rendered to the cause of Universal Humanity.

PARIS, September 8th, 1868.

COUNT SERRURIER,
Commissioner General of the International Exposition, & President of the Conference.

COUNT G. de CHABOLY, } General Secretaries.
T. GAUVIY. }

To Monsieur Hudson."

E. D. HUDSON, M. D., 696 BROADWAY, N. Y.
Specialty of Mechanical Surgery, and Artificial Legs and Arms.
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THE NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

VOL. XXIX. PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY.

AARON M. POWELL, EDITOR.

THE STANDARD advocates entire freedom and immediate enfranchisement for the colored race, as the demand of justice. Chattelism has been abolished, but equal freedom for the colored race has not yet been secured.

Eminent writers contribute weekly to its columns, and the Editor is permitted to announce

WENDELL PHILLIPS

as a Special Editorial Contributor. Full reports will also be published of the Addresses of MR. PHILLIPS, revised and corrected by himself.

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MRS. LYDIA MARIA CHILD, in a letter accompanying remittance for THE STANDARD, writes as follows:

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EDITED BY S. H. MORSE & J. B. MARVIN

The general purpose and character of this work may be sufficiently indicated in its title. It is proper, however, to add the following statement: THE RADICAL furnishes a medium for the freest expression of thought on the questions that interest earnest minds in every community. Not having to consult denominational or party interests, it can consistently enforce the lessons of intellectual freedom and self-dependence. Confiding more in the natural force of ideas for the progress and melioration of society, than in the good offices of the best disposed institution; in the Divine Spirit of Liberty steadily burning in the soul of man, rather than in the wisest prescriptions of political or ecclesiastical art; we are ambitious, by the discussion of ideas and principles, to fortify individuals in their trust of Spiritual Laws, and in an unwavering reliance on the protections of heroic character. As occasion demands, we shall criticize public affairs, and consider the different reformatory movements of the present day.

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